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HISTORICAL PERCEPTIONS OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM
AND NATIONAL IDENTITY, 1869–1919

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submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Open University

in the discipline of Religious Studies

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Cambridge; The National Archives; the Diocese of Rochester, New York; the Royal Historical Society; Trinity College, Dublin; the *Venerabile Collegio Inglese*; and the Westminster Diocesan Archives. Their kindness and assistance has been invaluable to my research.

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NOTES AND ABBREVIATIONS

On the term 'Roman Catholic'

I have used the term 'Roman Catholic' to refer to the Latin-rite Church in communion with the See of Rome, rather than the currently normative 'Catholic', in order to better distinguish between the many different religious groups which claim catholicity. As should become clear, in using the term 'Roman Catholic' I do not intend to diminish the Englishness or the catholicity of the Roman Catholic Church in England, and I certainly do not mean to imply that it is an 'Italian mission to the Irish'. My use of the term 'Roman Catholic' carries with it full acknowledgment of both the anti-Catholic and ultramontane currency with which the term has been imbued historically.

I have used 'catholic' to refer to any Christian Church, or a party within a Church, claiming or emphasising their catholicity. Within the subject area of this thesis, catholicity was most commonly asserted, and then contested, in the polemical conflicts between Roman Catholics and Anglican High Churchmen.

I have used 'Church' either to refer to the 'universal Church', or to that denomination which is being discussed at the time. The context in which the word 'Church' appears should make it clear in which sense it is intended.

On the Gasquet Papers

The Gasquet Papers at Downside Abbey were catalogued at some point before Shane Leslie used their contents to produce Cardinal Gasquet: a Memoir.¹ That catalogue was published in 1984 by Dominic Bellenger.² However, during his research, Leslie disordered the collection at Downside, and removed some of its contents. This was not reflected in Bellenger's published catalogue. Some of the documents Leslie referred to cannot now be found at Downside. I discovered a small number among the Shane Leslie Papers at the National Library of Ireland, and I suspect more could be among the Leslie papers at Georgetown University. That is why, when referring to some letters between Francis Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, I have had to reference them as printed by Leslie rather than in the original manuscript.

The Gasquet Papers have been further disturbed since Leslie's research. I have therefore identified documents by their current file location, rather than their original catalogue reference. Therefore, references in this thesis do not correspond directly with Bellenger's catalogue. For example, the contents of a folder labelled '962+3353 Gasquet Diaries and Autobiography' have been referenced as such, rather than as '902 Autobiography (MS) and Diaries: 1901, 1904, 1913 (America), 1874, 1896 (Rome), 1916', which is where they were presumably first catalogued.

¹ Place of publication is London unless otherwise stated. Shane Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet: a Memoir (B&O: 1953).

² Dominic Bellenger, 'Cardinal Gasquet's Papers at Downside', Catholic Archives 4 (1984) 40–47.

Abbreviations

AAES	<i>Archivio Storico della Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari</i> (Historical Archive of the Holy Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs). This is now <i>II Sezione (Rapporti con gli Stati) della Segreteria di Stato</i> (the Second Section (Relations with States) of the Secretariat of State).
ABPSJ	Archive of the British Province of the Society of Jesus
APF	<i>Archivio della Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione de Popolo o <<de Propaganda Fide>></i> (Archive of the Holy Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples or 'for the Propagation of the Faith').
ASV	<i>Archivio Segreto Vaticano</i> (Vatican Secret Archive)
BL	British Library
B&O	Burns and Oates
CA	California
CH	<u>Church History</u>
CHR	<u>The Catholic Historical Review</u>
CT	Connecticut
CTS	Catholic Truth Society
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DA	Downside Abbey
DLT	Darton, Longman and Todd
EBC	English Benedictine Congregation
EBH	<u>English Benedictine History</u>

EHR	<u>English Historical Review</u>
E&S	Eyre and Spottiswoode
FO	Foreign Office
GB	George Bell
GP	Gasquet Papers
HJ	<u>The Historical Journal</u>
IN	Indiana
JBS	<u>Journal of British Studies</u>
JCN	John C. Nimmo
JEH	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
JH	John Hodges
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
MD	Maryland
MI	Missouri
MUP	Manchester University Press
NJ	New Jersey
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NS	<i>Nuova Serie</i> (New Series)
NY	New York
ODNB	<u>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</u>
OH	Ohio
OUP	Oxford University Press
P&P	<u>Past & Present</u>
PP	Private Publication
PUP	Princeton University Press
S&W	Sheed and Ward

SCH	<u>Studies in Church History</u>
SE	<i>Stati Ecclesiastici</i> (State–Church)
SRC	<i>Scrittura Reifer nei Congressi</i> (Writings Referred to by the Council of Propaganda Fide)
SS	<i>Rubricelli di Secretaria di Stato</i> (Letters of the Secretary of State)
TNA	The National Archives
TRHS	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>
UNDP	University of Notre Dame Press
VS	<u>Victorian Studies</u>
WDA	Westminster Diocesan Archives
YUP	Yale University Press

INTRODUCTION

This thesis makes a series of substantive contributions to the religious and intellectual history of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century England. It examines the way the Roman Catholic Church in England freed itself from the ideological boundaries which had hitherto restricted its engagement with English public life, and it argues that historical writing played a central role in this, the 'cultural emancipation' of English Roman Catholicism. Roman Catholic emancipation has commonly been understood as having been conceded by the British government in the grant of specific legal rights to Roman Catholics, chiefly in the Roman Catholic Relief Act 1829. However, this thesis challenges that simplified understanding, contending that the Roman Catholic Church played an active and argumentative role in its own emancipation, and that this process extended well beyond the legislation of the early nineteenth-century. It argues that in English society, and especially in its cultural sphere, the work of Roman Catholic emancipation lasted into the twentieth-century. This more fully reflects the importance of Roman Catholic efforts to assert the positive contribution their Church had made to the past life of the nation. The thesis argues that the promotion of a Roman Catholic historical consciousness, when combined with demonstrations of how useful the contemporary Roman Catholic Church was to the security of the British Empire, culminated in the acceptance of Roman Catholics as a core constituent of the English national community.

On a methodological level this thesis has been informed by significant and original archival research, to demonstrate how the discipline of intellectual history might profitably be integrated with the study of wider political, cultural and religious spheres. In addition to examining the way texts were informed by their wider context, the thesis presents a model for understanding and estimating their influence on contemporary attitudes toward religion and the past. It argues that Roman Catholic historians working from the 1870s, most importantly Francis Gasquet (1846–1929), used the authority of the new ‘scientific’ discipline of history to challenge the previously dominant anti-Catholic construction of England’s past.³ The thesis demonstrates that Gasquet’s work transformed popular perceptions of the foundations of the English nation, so that the Reformation of the sixteenth-century was no longer understood as being in glorious contrast to the immorality of the medieval Church. Gasquet’s claim, ostensibly well-supported by archival research, was that the nation had been born and maintained in charitable civil order by the Roman Catholic Church, before an exploitative oligarchy seized control of the state at the Reformation. This revisionist historiography proved influential in academic and popular circles, and supported an enthusiastic revaluation of the benefits Roman Catholic social teaching could again bring to English society. The thesis examines how a new teleology which stressed the centrality of the Roman Catholic Church to the English national past grew in influence, and explains how this helped to undermine the exclusivist identification between

³ Bellenger, ‘Gasquet, Francis [*name in religion* Aidan] (1846–1929)’, ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

Protestantism and English national identity, and the symbiotic relationship between the Church of England and the state.

The English Roman Catholic Church also laboured to transfer some surviving anti-Catholic animus to Anglican ritualists and Irish Roman Catholics. This 'othering' allowed them to demonstrate their Englishness in comparison to the apparent illegitimacy of Anglican ritualism and the disloyalty of Irish nationalists to the Empire.⁴ During the controversial campaign which led to the papal condemnation of Anglican orders in 1896, it was asserted that the Roman Catholic Church was characterised by a respect for historical fact and plain-speaking which contrasted with the theological innovations and the slippery language of Anglican High Churchmen. This campaign coincided with and gave greater impetus to a popular outburst of anti-ritualism. By drawing equally polemical contrasts between the loyalty of English and Irish Roman Catholics during World War One, and because of the cooperation the new British Mission to the Holy See was able to promote between Britain and the Roman curia, English Roman Catholics were able to emphasise that their loyalty to the pope was compatible with their loyalty to the nation – it even reinforced it. This does not mean that by the end of World War One anti-Catholicism had been eradicated from England. In specific local contexts, especially those with immigrant Irish and Scottish populations, anti-Catholicism was still capable of playing an important role in popular politics. However, by the early twentieth-century anti-Catholicism no longer policed the boundaries

⁴ David Hilliard, 'UnEnglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality', *VS* 25.2 (1982) 181–210.

of English national identity: Englishness was no longer commonly defined by a rejection of Rome, and the process of Roman Catholic emancipation had led to a more religiously pluralist national culture.

Developing a Detailed Chronology of Roman Catholic Emancipation

This thesis does not merely assume anti-Catholicism gradually withered away because the threat posed by Roman Catholicism to British national security had passed by the early nineteenth-century.⁵ Nor does it claim that legal emancipation (reflecting this perception of increased security) immediately exploded the anti-Catholic boundaries of the English public sphere.⁶ Instead, it argues that English Roman Catholics began publicly to stress the positive contribution they could make to the nation. In combination with the increasingly obvious fact that Roman Catholicism could no longer be identified with continental threats to the nation-state, or was associated with active Jacobitism, this articulation of Roman Catholic virtue did much to undermine England's traditional anti-Catholicism. The Roman Catholic claim to be a core constituent of the nation was eventually incorporated (in authoritative 'scientific' terms) into a narrative stressing the centrality of Roman Catholicism to the historical roots of English national

⁵ Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837 (YUP: New Haven, CT, 2005) 324–334; David Hempton, Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland: from the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire (CUP: Cambridge, 1996) 150; Adrian Hastings, The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism (CUP: Cambridge, 1997) 55.

⁶ William Lubenow, Liberal Intellectuals and Public Culture in Modern Britain, 1815–1914 (Boydell: Woodbridge, 2010) 218.

identity. The positive contribution of English Roman Catholicism to the commonwealth, demonstrated through references to the past, and full of promise for the future, ultimately justified the inclusion of Roman Catholicism in the English public sphere. This thesis therefore argues that English Roman Catholics were largely responsible for their own emancipation through a process of conscious identification between the Roman Catholic Church and the history of the English nation. Offering a brief, unnuanced account of this gradual process might seem both overly-ambitious and overly-simplistic for the introduction to a thesis. However, the absence of any description in secondary literature of the progressive integration of Roman Catholicism into English national identity makes it necessary to provide one here. This foregrounds the thesis' detailed exposition of a final, cultural stage in the emancipation of Roman Catholicism.

The progression of Roman Catholic emancipation in England is best understood as having occurred in three successive, slightly overlapping, stages: legal, social and cultural emancipation. First, parliamentary acts of emancipation granted Roman Catholics specific legal rights in response to the diminution of threats to the nation's security and the introduction of specific oaths through which they could pledge their loyalty to the crown. These acts began to be passed in the late eighteenth-century, but the most historiographically important was passed in 1829. Under this measure Roman Catholics were permitted to hold public office and enter the national legislature. Prior to the Roman Catholic Relief Act 1829, such exclusions had proclaimed the ideological opposition of the nation-state and the

Roman Catholic Church. English identity, in particular, was defined by a symbiotic understanding of the relationship between Protestant Church and Protestant state; Roman Catholic disabilities were justified by the assumption that every Roman Catholic was a potential traitor. Following the first phase of emancipation, ending in 1829, many restrictions on the equality of Roman Catholics remained in law. Though most became obsolete and were removed by piecemeal legislation over the succeeding century, this was a slow process, which is not fully complete today. Changes in the social position and internal structure of English Roman Catholicism also occurred. These were far more important than later Roman Catholic relief acts in improving the position of English Roman Catholics, and they characterised a second, social phase of emancipation which can be seen occurring between 1829 and the 1870s.

This social emancipation overlapped with the early period of what Alan McClelland has called the 'Formative Years' of Roman Catholicism in England.⁷ The social acceptability of Roman Catholics within English society increased, as they were freed from legal barriers that had prevented them entering the professions, and the Roman Catholic community was leavened by the educational and social capital of a number of Tractarian converts. The confidence that a 'Second Spring' was beginning to revitalise the English Church was reflected in the re-establishment of an episcopal hierarchy in 1850, and the foundation of numerous new parishes and

⁷ Alan McClelland, 'The Formative Years, 1850–92', From Without the Flaminian Gate: 150 Years of Roman Catholicism in England and Wales, 1850–2000, eds Michael Hodgetts and McClelland (DLT: 1999) 1–20.

schools.⁸ English Roman Catholic culture was, however, predominantly inward-looking, inspired by ultramontane prelates and designed to maintain religious barriers between Roman Catholics and the rest of English society. The insular character of these activities was demonstrated by the importance accorded to denominational education, particularly the unsuccessful attempts to create segregated institutions of higher education, such as the Roman Catholic university colleges of Dublin and Kensington.⁹ Despite this intellectual close-mindedness, the period was marked by an increasing confidence in the durability and sustainability of the Roman Catholic Church's ministry in England, and there was some pressure from the laity to relate more closely to the non-Catholic institutions of English society.

The second, social stage of Roman Catholic emancipation was still punctuated by outbreaks of anti-Catholicism, including widespread outrage at the erection of territorial Sees in England and Wales in the 'Papal Aggression' of 1850.¹⁰ Parliamentary responses to this assertion of

⁸ J.H. Newman, 'The Second Spring', Sermons Preached on Various Occasions (Longmans: 1908) 163–182; Eric Tenbus "'We Fight for the Cause of God": English Catholics, the Education of the Poor, and the Transformation of Catholic Identity in Victorian Britain', JBS 46.4 (2007) 861–883; Tenbus, English Catholics and the Education of the Poor, 1847–1902 (Pickering and Chatto: 2010).

⁹ Tom Horwood, 'The Rise and Fall of the Catholic University College, Kensington, 1868–1882', JEH 54.2 (2003) 302–318.

¹⁰ G.I.T. Machin, 'Lord John Russell and the Prelude to The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 1846–51', JEH 25.3 (1974) 277–295; Walter Ralls, 'The Papal Aggression of 1850: A Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism', CH 43.2 (1974) 242–256; Machin, Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868 (Clarendon: Oxford, 1977) 210–228; Denis Paz, 'Popular Anti-Catholicism in England, 1850–1851', Albion 11 (1979) 331–359.

jurisdiction included legislation denying Roman Catholic bishops any right to assume the title of a British locality. On 5 November 1850, effigies of Pius IX (1792–1878) and Cardinal Wiseman (1802–1865), Archbishop of Westminster, were burned throughout the country.¹¹ By 1869, however, this kind of popular political anti-Catholicism less cohesively defined the boundaries of the English public sphere than at any time since the sixteenth-century. The principle of established national religion was really crumbling under the weight of Britain's religious diversity, and the demonstrable loyalty of groups of English Roman Catholics to the state was reflected and rewarded in W.E. Gladstone's (1809–1898) campaign for Irish disestablishment.¹² Gladstone and his supporters thought they could now rely on Roman Catholicism to secure the loyalty of Ireland to the crown. However, a distinction should be drawn between Gladstone's Irish policy, which implied he trusted Roman Catholics not to rebel when treated justly, and any widespread acknowledgement of the inherent virtues of the Roman Catholic Church or its contribution to the commonwealth. The year after the Irish Church Act 1869, a Select Committee of the House of Commons inquired into supposed abuses occurring in convents. Its report emphasised that the Roman Catholic Church and its religious houses were seen as cruel and superstitious.¹³

¹¹ Paz, 'Popular Anti-Catholicism in England', 333–334; Richard Schiefen, 'Wiseman, Nicholas (1802–1865)', ODNB.

¹² Machin, Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1869 to 1921 (Clarendon: Oxford, 1987) 20–29; H.C.G. Matthew, 'Gladstone, William (1809–1898)', ODNB.

¹³ Edward Norman, 'Report of the Convent Inquiry, 1871', Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (Barnes & Noble: NY, 1968) 202–211; Walter Arnstein, Protestant versus

Between the 1870s and World War One, overlapping with the end of the 'Years of Formation' and the early part of Sheridan Gilley's 'Years of Equipoise', an engagement with wider national culture allowed Roman Catholicism to break down the perception that it embodied an alien identity or a forbidding irrationality.¹⁴ This third period witnessed the cultural emancipation of English Roman Catholicism. Between the mid 1870s and World War One, the Roman Catholic community continued to develop an independent intellectual life, but this was increasingly turned outwards, in an attempt to redefine the idea of the nation so that it could be acknowledged as compatible with Roman Catholicism. This thesis contends that the main intellectual driving force behind this redefinition of the nation's religious identity, which was therefore responsible for fostering acceptance of Roman Catholicism's place in the English public sphere, was the development of a Roman Catholic historical consciousness. Bolstered by the allegedly impartial authority of 'scientific' historical scholarship, this rebutted the exclusionary identification of the English nation with the Protestant religion, and further undermined the old Anglican cultural hegemony. The thesis explores this process through a figure whose written works and life coincidentally linked key intellectual and political actions, essential to establishing the virtues of the Roman Catholic Church with English people. Gasquet's positive vision of life in medieval England rebutted the popular Protestant teleology of English nationhood. He

Catholic in mid-Victorian England: Mr Newdegate and the Nuns (University of Missouri Press: Columbia, NY, 1982).

¹⁴ Sheridan Gilley, 'The Years of Equipoise, 1892-1943', From Without the Flaminian Gate, 21-61.

represented an intellectual shift that raised popular awareness of the importance of the Roman Catholic Church to the origins and formation of the nation. This, combined with the demonstration in World War One that even the curial structures of the papacy were capable of reinforcing the positive moral basis of English and European society, inspired the religious pluralisation of English national identity.

The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into an introduction; a chapter consisting of three illustrative case studies; and three longer, detailed chapters. The introduction also provides a short literature review. This is not intended as a complete survey of all the relevant secondary literature the thesis draws on, or even to list those works which have previously explored the subject matter of the thesis' main chapters. Where this kind of relevant secondary literature exists, it is discussed in those later chapters. Instead, the introductory literature review outlines the works which have influenced the thesis' focus and methodology, and notes its relationship to key texts which have defined the academic fields to which the thesis can be seen as a contribution or challenge. The introduction therefore highlights the thesis' involvement with wider academic debates, chiefly those concerning the boundaries of historiography and its relationship to intellectual history; the causal link between religion and national identity; narratives of Roman Catholic and anti-Catholic history; and secularisation theory.

Chapter I includes three short case studies which examine the principal historical responses to the first Vatican Council; a series of cultural assertions of Roman Catholic historical continuity in the 1890s; and popular responses to the international Eucharistic Congress of 1908. These case studies have been chosen to demonstrate the dynamic nature of the change in English attitudes to Roman Catholicism, its historical credentials, and national identity, which occurred during the time-span of the thesis. They are intended to act as snapshots, illustrating the increasing pluralisation of English national identity by juxtaposing the position of Roman Catholicism in relation to the English public sphere in 1869–1875, 1892–1903, and 1908. The case studies also supplement the later, more detailed chapters, filling some of the chronological gaps between them. A single diachronic narrative underscores the whole thesis, though the detailed analysis and exposition of the main chapters could conceal the magnitude of the change in the religious boundaries of the nation it seeks to describe and explain. In addition, while chapters II–IV focus primarily on written source material, the case studies in chapter I briefly reflect on a variety of other sources, including non-textual evidence. These support the contention, made in the introductory literature review, that the ideological messages of scholarly historical texts were perpetuated and made accessible through popular, even non-textual, forms of commemoration. The case studies thereby justify the way the thesis uses the methodology of intellectual history to bring broader cultural and social changes to light.

Chapter II identifies historical writing as the driving force behind the cultural emancipation of Roman Catholicism in England at the end of the

nineteenth-century, and examines how a sense of the Church's positive contribution to the nation's past, and therefore to its collective identity, was successfully established. It does this through a close study of Gasquet, in his life-time the most famous Roman Catholic historian of England, who was emblematic of the movement to popularise the Roman Catholic Church through a 'scientific' reappraisal of its history. The chapter provides some biographical detail, to correct and supplement the studies of Gasquet which have already been published. Through textual study, it then draws out his intellectual inspirations, the historiographically significant content of his work, and the influence he exercised over contemporary understandings of the social benefit and moral probity of the medieval Church. It highlights his personal popularity, and the immediacy with which his ideas about the relationship between religion and English identity were absorbed both through and beyond a large reading public. The chapter also examines Gasquet's long-term influence on the formation of a distinctive Roman Catholic approach to social questions.

In chapter III, the thesis argues that the growing confidence and historical consciousness of the Roman Catholic Church in England were expressed through a bold controversial assault on the position of the Church of England. The historical consistency and ecclesial legitimacy of Anglicanism were attacked in the papal inquiry into Anglican orders of 1896. This is an area which, unlike other topics covered in this thesis, has already been capably examined in some secondary literature. However, the chapter is original in its interaction with new primary texts and in its intellectual focus: the assertion that the debate over the validity of Anglican orders expressed

both the improving position of English Roman Catholicism and the apologetic power of an integrated historical worldview. Rather than being an unprincipled attack on the Church of England's Protestantism, or a rejection of ecumenicism, the Roman Catholic condemnation of Anglican orders relied on a particular, intellectually fashionable way of thinking about the relationship between history and religion. The chapter's suggestion, that this historical consciousness motivated Roman Catholic anti-ritualism, is also innovative. The chapter offers a detailed exploration of the formation and inter-relation of polemical texts arguing for the validity and invalidity of Anglican orders, investigating what was, chiefly, an argument over the religious virtue of historical consistency.

Finally, in chapter IV, the thesis examines the effect of World War One on attitudes to Roman Catholicism in England. It concentrates on a study of Anglo-Vatican diplomacy to show how English national identity overcame its traditional opposition to the most alienating aspect of Roman Catholic ecclesiology: the papacy. Anti-papalism was undoubtedly one of the longest-enduring and most ideologically capacious aspects of political anti-Catholicism. In 1870, opposition to the power of the Pope over Englishmen characterised an English public sphere that (despite legal and increasing levels of social emancipation) was still defined against Roman Catholicism. However, by 1919 the government was convinced that positive relations with the papacy could bolster the authority of the state throughout the British Empire and particularly in Ireland. Chapter IV proposes that the experience of war convinced English politicians of the importance of establishing and maintaining diplomatic relations with the Vatican; that the

cultivation of a positive public relationship with the papacy was in the best interests of Britain's national security. It also illustrates the increasing sense that English Roman Catholicism was committed to, and influential within a common and pluralistic public sphere. The concern to articulate a distinctive Roman Catholic response to pressing social questions, noted in chapter II, continued to motivate public statements from the episcopal hierarchy. However, in the aftermath of the war these increasingly stressed that non-Catholics could benefit from their inspiration, and that the Roman Catholic Church's responsibility to the English people transcended denominational boundaries. The increasingly acceptable contribution of Roman Catholics to England's shared religious culture was seen in the cultural impact of Roman Catholic devotions and practices of mourning on the movement for liturgical reform in the Church of England. Chapter IV contains a slightly extended conclusion, drawing together the main themes of the thesis.

Synthesising the Literature: a History of Intellectual, National and Religious Histories

In its examination of the relationship between the development of Roman Catholic historical scholarship in England and the broadening of the ideological basis of English national identity between 1869 and 1919, this thesis offers an original contribution to conversations that have occurred within a number of loosely connected academic fields. Most, but not all of them, are areas of historical study. The thesis has drawn on approaches and findings of scholars who might describe themselves as specialists in a range of self-contained fields, such as intellectual history; nationalism studies;

international relations; and political and ecclesiastical history. Though the thesis concentrates on a single period of fifty years, in which it argues English national identity was revolutionarily pluralised, it relies on an acquaintance with both medieval and modern historical scholarship, and has been inspired by exemplary work on other countries, chiefly Germany, whose violent nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has provided an irresistible puzzle for historians trying to chart the responsibility of their predecessors for shaping the exclusionary nation-state.¹⁵ This thesis engages with such a wide range of literature in different fields that it would be unrealistic to survey them systematically.¹⁶ Therefore this chapter deals specifically with works that have inspired the interdisciplinary approach of this thesis. Perhaps more importantly, the

¹⁵ Anti-Catholicism's power as a unifying force in many national contexts is reflected on in John Wolffe, ed., Protestant-Catholic Conflict from the Reformation to the Twenty-First Century: The Dynamics of Religious Difference (Palgrave-Macmillan: 2013); Helmut Walser Smith, German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics 1870-1914 (PUP: Princeton, N.J., 1995); Smith, The Continuities of German History: Nation, Religion, and Race Across the Long Nineteenth Century (CUP: Cambridge, 2008).

¹⁶ Recent surveys giving shape to these relevant sub-fields include Anthony Smith, Nationalism and Modernism: a Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism (Routledge: 1998); Marjule Drury, 'Anti-Catholicism in Germany, Britain, and the United States: a Review and Critique of Recent Scholarship', CH 70.1 (2001) 98-131; Paul Lawrence, Nationalism: History and Theory (Longmans: 2004); Gilley and Brian Stanley, eds, World Christianities c.1815-c.1914, Cambridge History of Christianity vol.8 (CUP: Cambridge, 2008); Stuart Macintyre, Juan Miguash and Attita Pok, eds, The Oxford History of Historical Writing: 1800-1945, vol.4 (OUP: Oxford, 2011). In addition, Philomena Sutherland is currently preparing an annotated bibliography for The Open University research project, 'Protestant-Catholic Conflict: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Realities', of which this thesis is a part.

chapter also seeks to demonstrate how the thesis relates to areas of academic consensus and controversy, to suggest where its conclusions indicate the necessity of revising existing literature, or are at least historiographically provocative.

Intellectual History

On a methodological level, the thesis engages in a detailed study of the formation, content, and effect of a series of texts composed within particular ideological traditions. It examines historical monographs and articles as well as historically conscious controversial pamphlets, speeches, sermons and other confessional polemics. It therefore sits within a broad definition of intellectual history, though the boundaries of that classification are so fluid some scholars would find its association with the history of religion here curious. It is more common to find leading intellectual historians working on the history of political thought or the histories of intellectuals.¹⁷ However there seems no reason to limit intellectual history to the study of a series of iconised secular thinkers, and the overlap between this thesis and the methodology and general interests of leading intellectual historians supports

¹⁷ The varying definitions given to intellectual history are highlighted by Peter Gordon, 'What is Intellectual History? A Frankly Partisan Introduction to a Frequently Misunderstood Field', http://history.fas.harvard.edu/people/faculty/documents/What%20is_Intell_History%20P_Gordon%20Mar2012.pdf; Sussex Centre for Intellectual History, 'What is Intellectual History Project', <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/cih/research/what-is-intellectual-history>; Stefan Collini, 'Intellectual History', http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/intellectual_history.html.

its identification with the field. In its emphasis on the importance of studying these texts in context, the thesis draws on the insights of Quentin Skinner, and in its effort to locate the significance of quasi-academic texts in their desire to speak to wider society, it bears some resemblance to Stefan Collini's work.¹⁸ In its concern to trace the changing relationship between religion and intellectual thought, particularly Roman Catholicism's relationship with history, it also owes an obvious debt to Owen Chadwick.¹⁹

The Author

My approach to an intellectual history of religion has been influenced by Seeing Things Their Way, a collection of essays by early modern historians of religion. It proposed intellectual historians should abandon their general refusal to engage with religion, and uses Skinner's work as a model for serious engagement with the formation and articulation of religious ideas in texts, suggesting historians should adopt this methodology as a necessary

¹⁸ Quentin Skinner, Visions of Politics, vol.1 (CUP: Cambridge, 2002) 3; Collini, Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930 (Clarendon: Oxford 1993); Collini, Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain (OUP: Oxford, 2006); Collini, Common Readings: Critics, Historians, Publics (OUP: Oxford, 2008).

¹⁹ Owen Chadwick, From Bossuet to Newman (CUP: Cambridge, 1957); Chadwick, The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century (CUP: Cambridge, 1977); Chadwick, Britain and the Vatican during the Second World War (CUP: Cambridge, 1986); Chadwick, Acton, Döllinger and History (German Historical Institute: 1987); Chadwick, Acton and History (CUP: Cambridge, 1998).

step toward the proper examination of historical religion.²⁰ Seeing Things Their Way argued that since the 1960s historians of religion have demonstrated a reductive tendency to divorce popular religiosity from doctrinal engagement, making the assumption that only an elite or clericalist spirituality was motivated by a coherent theological worldview.²¹ As a corrective to this trend, it advocated a receptive historicism which acknowledges the importance of belief as well as behaviour in the actuality of historical religion. Historians need to acknowledge the integrity of the religious ideas of historical actors, in order to write about them on their own terms.

Seeing Things Their Way argued that texts should be read as expressing the worldview of the society they were composed within. I agree that a close reading of a text in context can provide a guide to the intentions of the author, and this was often expressive of broader social attitudes.²² This thesis goes further than Seeing Things Their Way in its analysis of a number of texts which, rather than exercising this representative function, expressed deliberately controversial or unpopular opinions, and were intended to reshape common culture in line with them. An appreciation of the author's intention when composing such texts requires an engagement with the

²⁰ Alister Chapman and John Coffey, 'Introduction: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion', Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion, eds Chapman, Coffey and Brad Gregory (UNDP: Notre Dame, IN, 2009) 1–23:2–3.

²¹ Chapman and Coffey, 'Intellectual History and the Return of Religion', 5–7.

²² Chapman and Coffey, 'Intellectual History and the Return of Religion', 17; Mark Knoll, 'British Methodological Pointers for Writing a History of Theology in America', Seeing Things Their Way, 202–225:222–223.

specific motives and categories of thought which informed the process of composition, but which might not be visible on first reading. Such texts cannot be seen as emblematic of the wider context in which they were produced, but a study of their reception can show how successfully they persuaded their readers despite their initial cultural incongruity. When dealing, as this thesis does, with texts claiming to convey the author's argument in a straightforward manner but which in reality contain unacknowledged influences or conceal a process of source manipulation, I believe it is legitimate to deconstruct as far as is possible the process of textual composition and the intentions of the author. The thesis uses the private papers of authors as far as possible, and a close reading of texts, to achieve this. It is even sometimes possible to trace the impact of one text on another when no attribution has been given, through observing the repetition of distinctive factual or interpretive details, or the recurrence of distinguishing turns of phrase. This is clearly a time-consuming and precarious exercise; there is considerable scope for the historian's own preoccupations to invent evidence for the intellectual debts they believe a text should show. The copying of factual details (or, even better, distinctive mistakes) from one text to another can, however, reassure the historian that they are observing a real but unacknowledged debt. Only with this more robust attitude to texts than the surface reading which might be appropriate in other circumstances can reliable conclusions be drawn from these slippery sources.²³

²³ Gregory, 'Can we "See Things Their Way"? Should We Try?', Seeing Things Their Way, 24–45:33, 37.

The Reader

Texts themselves often signified the impact their author wished them to have on their readers. Most obviously, they situated themselves within particular genres and adopted the authoritative conventions of their field. In Gasquet's case, he authenticated his books as 'scientific' historical texts by the ostentatious use of footnotes, appendices and quotations from apparent primary sources. Texts also revealed the priorities and motivations of their authors, whether by open acknowledgement or despite some effort to distance them from obvious advocacy. Felicity Heal has argued that authors needed to stimulate the construction of a readership through their writing, and therefore texts often contained implicit instructions telling the reader how to interact with them: Robert Parsons constructed A Treatise of Three Conversions of England from Paganisme to Christian Religion so that different volumes were addressed to Roman Catholics and Protestants.²⁴ It should be that something of the intended character of the reader can be discerned from textual study. If the author of the text was realistic about their audience, then the reader's self-image should be reflected in the text. In addition, this thesis has made considerable use of reviews, publication statistics and scholarly citations to provide a reliable if not comprehensive indication of the way a text was immediately received. Using a broad range of press reviews, as well as those appearing in scholarly journals, it is possible to understand how texts were viewed across the country and outside professional circles. Though press reviews were not written by

²⁴ Felicity Heal, 'Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past', Huntingdon Library Quarterly 68.1-2 (2005) 109-132:129-130.

people who were representative of all sub-sections of society, they wrote for a much broader audience than scholarly reviewers, and it can be presumed they were successful in articulating views acceptable to a broad readership. The long term popularity of an author – and their activities other than writing – can also demonstrate a text's enduring influence. In reports of his ecclesiastical preferment, Gasquet was identified and his suitability for new roles explained with references to his historical writing.

Believing in the Past

The texts interrogated in the preparation of the thesis almost all have a historical focus, less because the thesis was conceived as a work of historiography, than because a large proportion of English Roman Catholic writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had a strong historical aspect. This may have represented a more general trend in religious modes of thought.²⁵ Because it claims that Roman Catholicism exercised an increasing cultural influence in England due to the adoption of a 'scientific' authority associated with empiricist historical writing, the thesis is indebted to a wide field of secondary historiographical literature. These works have discussed the growing academic stature of history, and its dominance of the humanities in the later nineteenth-century. Some scholars have documented how positivism and archival scholarship came to dominate the epistemology of English historical writing, and some have described the professionalization of the historical discipline in English

²⁵ Erik Moser and Kenneth Parker, eds, The Rise of Historical Consciousness Among the Christian Churches (University Press of America: Lanham, MD, 2012).

universities.²⁶ Others have illustrated how particular historical problems were debated and interpreted.²⁷ John Vidmar's English Catholic Historians and the English Reformation provided a particularly relevant example of this approach, since Vidmar evaluated Gasquet's contribution to the historical debate on the Reformation.²⁸ However, the thesis offers an

²⁶ Duncan Forbes, The Liberal Anglican Idea of History (CUP: Cambridge, 1952); Stephen Tonsor, 'Lord Acton on Döllinger's Historical Theology', Journal of the History of Ideas 20.3 (1959) 329–352; Sheldon Rothblatt, The Revolution of the Dons: Cambridge and Society in Victorian England (CUP: Cambridge, 1981); Doris Goldstein, 'The Organizational Development of the British Historical Profession 1884–1921', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research (1982) 180–193; A.J. Engel, From Clergyman to Don: the Rise of the Academic Profession in Nineteenth-Century Oxford (Clarendon: Oxford, 1983); John Kenyon, The History Men: the Historical Profession in England Since the Renaissance, (Weidenfeld & Nicolson: 1983); Goldstein, 'The Origins and Early Years of the English Historical Review', EHR 101.398 (1986) 6–19; Goldstein, 'History at Oxford and Cambridge: Professionalization and the Influence of Ranke', Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline, eds Georg Iggers and J.M. Powell (Syracuse University Press: Syracuse, NY, 1990) 141–153; Peter Hinchliff, God and History: Aspects of British Theology 1875–1914 (Clarendon: Oxford, 1992); Rosemary Jann, The Art and Science of Victorian History (Ohio State University Press: Columbus, OH, 1995); William Lubenow, 'University History and the History of Universities in the Nineteenth Century', JBS 39.2 (2000) 247–262; Collini, Common Readings; Leslie Howsam, Past into Print: the Publishing of History in Britain 1850–1950 (BL: 2009); Michael Bentley, 'The Age of Prothero: British Historiography in the Long *Fin de Siècle*, 1870–1920', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 20 (2010) 171–193; Ian Hesketh, The Science of History in Victorian Britain: Making the Past Speak (Pickering and Chatto: 2011).

²⁷ Rosemary O'Day, The Debate on the English Reformation (Methuen: 1986); John Vidmar, English Catholic Historians and the English Reformation 1585–1954 (Sussex Academic Press: Eastbourne, 2004).

²⁸ Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 95–111, 116–122, 133–134.

alternative to their conception of historiography as an intra-disciplinary account of historical writing, divorced from the wider history of a period.

I propose that historiography should more often be recognised as a concentration of study for historians with wider intellectual or cultural interests, since historical writing has often expressed or interacted with broader categories of thought. Here again the thesis reflects a tradition within intellectual history, since John Burrow asserted that historiography should be studied as part of an integrated approach to the history of an age, because 'one of the ways in which a society reveals itself, and its assumptions and beliefs about its own character and destiny, is by its attitudes to and uses of its pasts'.²⁹ In addition to Burrow's example in A Liberal Descent and A History of Histories, the thesis has been influenced by Michael Bentley's approach to historiography as 'a creative act of evocation intended to suggest why historical writing turned out the way it did at the time and in the culture that it did'.³⁰ In both Modernizing England's Past and The Life and Thought of Herbert Butterfield, Bentley gave a thematic account of the way English historical writing developed in response to rapid changes in wider society.³¹ Bentley also outlined how Roman Catholic historiography challenged whiggish opinions about the virtues of the Protestant state, though he claimed this nonetheless endured as a historical focus.³² In its suggestion that historical writing helped Roman

²⁹ John Burrow, A Liberal Descent (CUP: Cambridge, 1983) 1–2.

³⁰ Burrow, A History of Histories (Penguin: 2009); Bentley, Modernizing England's Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism (CUP: Cambridge, 2005) 12.

³¹ Bentley, The Life and Thought of Herbert Butterfield (CUP: Cambridge, 2011).

³² Bentley, Modernizing England's Past, 56–59, 68–69.

Catholicism to enter the English public sphere, the thesis pursues a line of investigation arising from these accounts: it suggests why the ideological basis of English national identity changed in response to historical writing.

Reflecting on the way English public life changed in response to religious writers, Matthew Grimley has shown how Anglican theology was at the heart of a pluralistic public policy in the mid-twentieth-century.³³

Examining an earlier period, William Lubenow has described how religion transformed itself to continue to assert its cultural influence through new networks of power. Lubenow saw this as a necessary process, connecting Roman Catholic legal emancipation with the shift from religion to the new certainties of academic 'science' as a national source of authority.³⁴ He concluded that the increasing respectability of scientific modes of thought helped in the establishment of new professions and the growth of middle-class social networks; these alternative, devolved structures of power posed challenges to the old confessional hegemonies defining the nation-state.³⁵

In contrast to this concentration on the intellectual aristocracy, a small number of studies have recently written about how English men and women entirely outside the academic sphere and its associated professional networks approached the past. They have paid particular attention to how a belief in historical belonging was used to conceptualise the nation by the

³³ Matthew Grimley, Citizenship, Community and the Church of England: Liberal Anglican Theories of the State Between the Wars (OUP: Oxford, 2004) 21–23, 65–102.

³⁴ Lubenow, Liberal Intellectuals and Public Culture, 16.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 47.

lower strata of English society.³⁶ Such accounts stressed the disjointed and commemorative nature of popular historical awareness.³⁷ It is still rare for a historian to demonstrate the effect of an integrated historical narrative on this popular sphere, or to examine the relationship between professional and popular historical consciousness.³⁸ The first two essays in Eamon Duffy's Saints, Sacrilege and Seditious moved freely to dissect interpretations of England's religious history from George Herbert to Kingsley Amis, taking in A.G. Dickens *en route*.³⁹ Like some of the other writers Duffy includes in his survey, the appeal of Gasquet's work was that it straddled the divide between academic and popular consumers of historical narrativity.⁴⁰ Because of the way historiographers tend not to focus on liminal authors, the close study of the broad appeal of Gasquet's work in this thesis is

³⁶ Paul Readman, 'The Place of the Past in English Culture, c.1890–1914', P&P 186.1 (2005) 147–199:149; Billie Melman, The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past 1800–1953 (OUP: Oxford, 2006); Peter Mandler, 'Revisiting the Olden Time: Popular Tudorism in the Time of Victoria', Tudorism: Historical Imagination and the Appropriation of the Sixteenth Century, eds Marcus Bull and Tatiana String (OUP: Oxford, 2011) 13–35.

³⁷ Deborah Ryan, "'Pageantitis': Frank Lascelles' 1907 Oxford Historical Pageant: Visual Spectacle and Popular Memory', Visual Culture in Britain 8.2 (2007) 63–82; Michael Dobson, 'The Pageant of History: Staging the Local Past, 1905–39', Filming and Performing Renaissance History, eds Mark Burnett and Adrian Streete (Palgrave–Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2011) 163–177; Elizabeth MacFarlane, 'Cultures of Anglican Hagiography c.1840–1940, with Special Reference to the Diocese of Truro', Unpublished Oxford DPhil, 2012, 127–133.

³⁸ An exception is Anthony Brundage, The People's Historian: John Richard Green and the Writing of History in Victorian England (Greenwood Press: Westport, CT, 1994).

³⁹ Eamon Duffy, Saints, Sacrilege and Seditious: Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformations (Bloomsbury: 2012) 29–30, 40–48.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 41–42.

methodologically instructive. Rather than being a professionally trained historian writing for his colleagues, or for the general public, Gasquet was a populist appealing to a popular audience by trying to make his work look professorial. His texts were extraordinarily influential over popular culture because of their apparently academic credentials.

The thesis acknowledges that trying to chart the influence of intellectual patterns of thought, expressed in texts, on wider society is necessarily an approximate exercise, but concludes that it is possible to demonstrate a causal relationship between Roman Catholic historical writing and the development of a more pluralistic English national identity at the end of the nineteenth-century.⁴¹ This interpretation links the intellectual articulation of a religion with its contested and controversial lived experience, allowing the thesis to 'come near to the point where the cloudy apprehensions of what is known as intellectual history, so hard to establish at any point, can be shown to begin to affect the attitudes of a whole society'.⁴²

The Nation

Scholars of nationalism have seen historical writing as a key constructor of the nation, often stressing its exclusionary character, used to build up national pride in opposition to an excluded 'other'. The thesis has certainly been informed by an awareness of this emphasis on the relationship between understandings of the past and the building of a national ideology. Since the

⁴¹ Chadwick, Secularisation of the European Mind, 2.

⁴² Ibid. 164.

publication of Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities, it has become commonplace in nationalism studies to view historians as dishonest manipulators of the past, working to build modern nations through narration.⁴³ Georg Iggers starkly summarised how '[h]istorians went into the archives to find evidence that would support their nationalistic and class preconceptions and thus give them the aura of scientific authority'.⁴⁴ This view has been perpetuated through the European Science Foundation research project led by Stefan Berger, 'Representations of the Past'.⁴⁵ Though this thesis agrees that historical writing was important to the way members of national communities understood their collective pasts and presents, it also sees the dominant paradigm in nationalism studies as insensitive to historical evidence. Paul Lawrence has shown that scholars of nationalism rarely take the pre-modern histories of nations seriously, and Paul Readman has highlighted the necessity of reflecting on the instinctive enthusiasm people had for understanding their nation in terms of its

⁴³ Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (Verso: 1983); Benjamin Brabon and Alistair McCleery, The Influence of Benedict Anderson (Merchiston Publishing: Edinburgh, 2007).

⁴⁴ Iggers, Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge (Wesleyan University Press: Hanover, NH, 1997) 28.

⁴⁵ Stefan Berger, Mark Donovan and Kevin Passmore, eds, Writing National Histories: Western Europe Since 1800 (Routledge: 1999); Berger, Linas Eriksonas and Andrew Mycock, eds, Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media, and the Arts (Berghahn Books: Oxford, 2008); Berger and Chris Lorenz, eds, The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories (Palgrave-Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2008).

history.⁴⁶ Probably because of the roots of Anderson's work in literary theory, recent scholars of nationalism have tended to prioritise theoretical considerations in their work. This thesis demonstrates how a focus on sources can yield a more nuanced understanding of the way some historians tried to maintain the boundaries of the nation, and others re-shaped them in ways that were far from the monolithic 'Bismarckian power politics' scholars associated with Berger have assumed underpinned all national historical writing.⁴⁷

Another obvious deficiency in nationalism studies has been the notion that nations are a purely modern phenomenon which supplanted other categories of association and meaning, such as religion.⁴⁸ Anthony Smith's work has made an attempt to redress this weakness, but since he regarded the nation as the patricidal heir to religious impulses and holy language, it can hardly be said he was interested in studying religion on its own terms.⁴⁹ Adrian Hastings' The Construction of Nationhood saw vernacular Christianity as the key to the conceptual generation of nations, and Hastings therefore studied how texts, chiefly religious literature, formed enduring national identities in the pre-modern world.⁵⁰ However, Hastings' views, though trenchantly argued, have not altered the direction of nationalism studies. As

⁴⁶ Lawrence, Nationalism, 2, 7–8; Readman, 'The Place of the Past in English Culture', 150.

⁴⁷ Berger, Donovan and Passmore, 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion', Writing National Histories, 20, 287:287.

⁴⁸ John Breuilly, Nationalism and the State (MUP: Manchester, 1982) 44, 46–48.

⁴⁹ Smith, Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity (OUP: Oxford, 2003).

⁵⁰ Hastings, The Construction of Nationhood.

recently as 2008, Berger's European Science Foundation project was criticised for its casual marginalisation of the relationship between religion and the nation.⁵¹ Insensitivity to religion as a factor in nation-building remains a demonstrable weakness of nationalism studies.

In both the return to the study of religion that has characterised some publications in the field of international relations since 11 September 2001, and the host of historical studies on the formation of the British nation in the long eighteenth-century, the central importance of religion to nation-building in the modern Islamic world and early modern Europe has been highlighted. Scholars of international relations with a particular focus on the relationship between the Islamic world and 'the west' have begun to acknowledge the enduring role of religion within national communities and as an important factor in international relations.⁵² Though this resurgence was undoubtedly linked to the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, religion has not solely been associated with anti-western radicalism challenging peaceful relations between states. It is increasingly being seen as having exercised a long-term and sometimes positive influence over international relations, which prior to 2001 international relations scholars ignored because of their intellectual confinement within

⁵¹ J.C. Kennedy, 'Religion, Nation and European Representations of the Past', The Contested Nation, 104–134.

⁵² Scott Thomas, 'Taking Religious and Cultural Pluralism Seriously: The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Society', Religion in International Relations: the Return from Exile, eds Pavloz Hatzopolous and Fabio Petito (Palgrave-Macmillan: NY, 2003) 21–53.

the social science faculties of American and European universities.⁵³ Their positional awakening might act as a model for scholars of nationalism, which is beset by a similar isolationism. An acknowledgement of the greater complexity of international relations has begun to grow out of the realisation that religion demands to be taken seriously as a major factor in global security concerns. This is clearly reflected in Palgrave–Macmillan’s new series on culture and religion in international relations.⁵⁴ This thesis argues that religion, increasingly demonstrating the ability to reconcile multiple confessional identities within the concept of a Christian commonwealth, formed and remained at the heart of English national identity deep into the modern period. Recent work on German anti–Catholicism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has similarly recognised the enduring power of religion to form nations, alternating between confessional conflict, which led to the definition of a unified Germany against a Roman Catholic ‘other’, and a huge emotional investment by Roman Catholics in the creation of a German national identity.⁵⁵

In its conclusions, the thesis has benefitted from a wide corpus of literature focusing on British history, particularly concerning the formation of a Protestant national identity in the long eighteenth–century, and Protestant–Catholic conflict thereafter. Without giving a complete survey of these

⁵³ Jonathan Fox and Shmeul Sandler, Bringing Religion into International Relations (Palgrave–Macmillan: NY, 2004) 9–12, 15–32.

⁵⁴ Fox and Sandler, Bringing Religion into International Relations; Hatzopolous and Petito ‘The Return From Exile: an Introduction’, Religion in International Relations, 1–20.

⁵⁵ Smith, German Nationalism and Religious Conflict; Smith, The Continuities of German History.

fields, this chapter will now highlight the key historiographical conventions affecting the thesis' argument, and note some points at which it disagrees with these views. Led by Linda Colley's Britons, there is now a considerable body of literature emphasising the role anti-Catholicism played in the development of the British nation-state and of a distinctive Protestant national identity.⁵⁶ The thesis takes its interest in the concept of 'national identity' directly from Colley's work, and I prefer to use that term, rather than 'nationalism', or focusing on 'national character', to reflect an understanding of the plurality of identity which the term is capable of accommodating.⁵⁷ It must be acknowledged that 'national identity' has sometimes been applied bluntly, and that it is capable of reinforcing the perception that nations possess unchallengeable ideological boundaries. However, the use of 'national identity' can imply an interest in the mechanisms by which nations were constructed, and this is appropriate given the thesis' methodological focus on textual creation and reception.⁵⁸ The term 'national identity' can also be seen as consistent with an acknowledgement of the complex and conflicting layers of political, social

⁵⁶ Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837 (YUP: New Haven, CT, 1992).

⁵⁷ Colley, Britons (2005) xvii; Mandler, The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair (YUP: New Haven, CT, 2006); Grimley, 'The Religion of Englishness: Puritanism, Providentialism, and "National Character", 1918–1945', JBS 46.4 (2007) 884–906:891, 894.

⁵⁸ Mandler, 'What is "National Identity"? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography', Modern Intellectual History 3.2 (2006) 271–297:273.

and cultural discourse which formed and can reform a collective and commonly-accepted consensus view of English nationality.⁵⁹

Britons has been followed by two other thematic accounts examining the relationship between British national identity and anti-Catholicism: Hastings' The Construction of Nationhood and David Hempton's Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland.⁶¹ All proposed that anti-Catholicism bound the British nation together, providing a physical and cultural defence against the Roman Catholic forces which threatened national security. Colin Haydon's more focused study added nuance to this understanding of eighteenth-century England as a society defined by its anti-Catholicism.⁶² In addition to the generally convincing nature of this interpretation, Hempton's account asserted that the 'cultural weapons' of the Church of England were used to provide a positive if amorphous focus for British identity. These included the establishment of a symbiotic relationship between the Church of England and the nation state, and the construction of an Anglican 'religio-moral homogeneity' that Hempton believed extended throughout the British isles.⁶³ Because of the close relationship between Anglicanism and the apparatus of the state, and its established status in England, Wales and Ireland, even nonconformists

⁵⁹ For example, as in Raphael Samuel, ed., Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity (Routledge: 1989).

⁶¹ Hempton, Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland.

⁶² Colin Haydon, Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1814-80 (MUP: Manchester, 1994).

⁶³ Hempton, Religion and Political Culture, 174.

viewed the Church of England with a proprietary air and regarded it as a bulwark against Roman Catholicism behind which they could shelter. Keith Robbins, also examining the relationship between the nationalities of Great Britain, stressed the importance of English linguistic, cultural and religious dominance to the very concept of the United Kingdom.⁶⁴ Robbins also argued that a recognition of regional and religious diversity in the nineteenth-century was no obstacle to the increasing levels of national integration that allowed Britain to survive World War One.⁶⁵

Hempton has a deep understanding of the interrelation of religion and national identity in Britain, particularly in Ulster.⁶⁶ His belief in the central importance of the Church of England in the definition or suppression of Irish and Scottish aspects of British national identity complements the approach of this thesis, which largely concentrates on the relationship between English religion and national identity. This is despite the fact that, at least in the analysis of Britain's relationship with the Vatican offered in chapter IV, it is clearly dealing with a British government and Irish identities. This practice has been followed to reflect the evidence of primary texts produced by historical writers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century. These talk almost exclusively about English history,

⁶⁴ Keith Robbins, History, Religion and Identity in Modern Britain (Hambledon Press: Rio Grande, OH, 1993); Robbins, 'Religion and Identity in Modern British History', Religion and National Identity, SCH 18, ed. Stuart Mews (Blackwell: Oxford, 1982) 465–487.

⁶⁵ Robbins, Nineteenth-Century Britain: Integration and Diversity (Clarendon: Oxford, 1988).

⁶⁶ For example, Hempton and Myrtle Hill, Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740–1890 (Routledge: 1992).

sometimes absorbing and sometimes ignoring the histories of the Celtic nations in their use of that term. It was particularly important for Roman Catholic historical writers, led by Gasquet, to establish their title to English rather than British history, partially because of the centrality of England as a historic nation to the country's past; partially to avoid associating the higher culture of English Roman Catholicism with Irish immigration. The Roman Catholic concentration on English history was characterised by an assertion of the continuity of the modern Roman Catholic Church in England with the missions sent from Rome by Gregory I. Their understanding of the nation's origins in the conversion of the English by Augustine of Canterbury allowed Roman Catholic historians to argue for an alternative to Teutonism, with its links to the whiggish tradition of English history, and to show that Celtic Christianity, which anti-Catholics had long seen as a form of British religion uncorrupted by associations with Rome, acknowledged the primacy of the papacy. A concentration on English history reflected the endurance of that primacy.

Colley, Hempton and Hastings all see anti-Catholicism as based on the idea that Roman Catholics were an 'other' to whom the British nation was ideologically opposed, and that it defined itself through this opposition. Peter Mandler claims that those historians who rely on the concept of an 'other' also depend upon its periodic replacement by another 'other'.⁶⁷ Colley, Hempton and Hastings, however, all see anti-Catholicism as a rational or functional response to the threat posed to British national security by Roman Catholicism; they argue that anti-Catholicism withered

⁶⁷ Mandler, 'What is "National Identity"?', 291.

away with the decline in the threat of an anti-Protestant invasion or rebellion. This thesis argues, however, that far from being replaced or declining in influence in response to the increasingly obvious physical security of the nation, anti-Catholicism endured long after that threat had passed, because it had become an important ideological component of English national identity, rooted in the nation's past. Like G.I.T Machin, I have observed how gradual, overlapping phases of emancipation slowly improved the position of Roman Catholics in England.⁶⁸ The thesis identifies three stages to this process of emancipation, and concentrates on an analysis of the final, 'cultural emancipation' of Roman Catholicism. This term has been used occasionally in a non-defined way in post-colonialist scholarship but neither the term itself, or the thesis' conception of 'cultural emancipation', seems to been applied to Roman Catholic emancipation before.⁶⁹ It has been chosen to reflect the inadequacy of viewing Roman Catholic emancipation in England as a single legal act occurring in 1829. This act did not make Roman Catholicism acceptable as a religious identity that was fully integrated into English national identity. A broad cultural change was necessary before anti-Catholicism ceased to underpin the exclusive boundaries that defined the groups which could participate in and contribute to English national life. The thesis demonstrates how a confident and historical spirit in Roman Catholicism attacked these hegemonic barriers in the later nineteenth-century, and it argues the Roman Catholic

⁶⁸ Machin, 'British Catholics', The Emancipation of Catholics, Jews and Protestants: Minorities and the Nation State in Nineteenth-Century Europe, eds Rainer Liedtke and Stephan Wendehorst (MUP: Manchester, 1999) 11–32:11.

⁶⁹ Gerhard Grohs, 'Difficulties of Cultural Emancipation in Africa', Journal of African Studies 14.1 (1976) 65–78.

Church itself broke the hold of anti-Catholicism on English national identity.

In addition to the literature stressing the role of anti-Catholicism in the formation of British national identity in the long eighteenth-century, there is a contained but significant body of work which stresses the enduring concept of an exclusivist British Protestant state through the nineteenth-century, and beyond.⁷⁰ The application of a providentialist theology with a global focus to this religious nationalism has been featured by Stewart Brown in Providence and Empire.⁷¹ Within this context, some writers have focused more exclusively on anti-Catholicism in England, and have characterised it as a positive dogmatic commitment essential to English national identity and religious thought in the period. These studies have viewed anti-Catholicism on its own terms as characteristic of English Protestantism rather than as a functional response to a threat to national security. John Wolffe's work evaluated anti-Catholicism, through a study of Protestant societies, as the rational ideological centrepiece of belief in a

⁷⁰ G.F.A. Best, 'Popular Protestantism in Victorian Britain', Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain, ed. R. Robson (GB: 1967) 115–142; Hugh McLeod, 'Protestantism and British National Identity, 1815–1945', Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia, ed. H. Lehman (PUP: Princeton, NJ, 1999) 44–70; Martin Wellings, Evangelicals Embattled: Responses of Evangelicals in the Church of England to Ritualism, Darwinism and Theological Liberalism, 1890–1930 (Paternoster Press: Carlisle, 2003).

⁷¹ Stewart Brown, Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom: 1815–1914 (Pearson: Edinburgh, 2008). See also Wolffe 'Anti-Catholicism and the British Empire, 1815–1914', Empires of Religion, ed. Hilary Carey (Palgrave–Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2008) 43–63.

Protestant Britain.⁷² Wolffe saw political anti-Catholicism as declining in the later nineteenth-century, and noted decreasing levels of popular support for Protestant societies from the 1860s.⁷³ However, he has also written about how anti-Catholicism endured as a marginal but by no means exhausted force among exclusivist evangelicals, and in some cities continued to serve a class-based political purpose.⁷⁴ It is important to make a distinction between the progress of the cultural emancipation of Roman Catholicism which this thesis locates in the broadening of the boundaries of the English public sphere through intellectual, literary and political sources, and the continuing power anti-Catholicism held in certain localities.

Edward Norman has also produced studies of anti-Catholicism and Victorian religion.⁷⁵ Norman's work defined and described the key crises in Protestant-Catholic relations in Victorian England, but did not examine how anti-Catholicism's public influence declined in the latter part of the nineteenth-century. Instead, Norman explained how great men, such as Gladstone, occasionally condescended to reach across the denominational

⁷² Wolffe, The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829–1860 (Clarendon: Oxford, 1991);

Wolffe, God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland (Routledge: 1994).

⁷³ Wolffe, The Protestant Crusade, 291.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 307; Wolffe, 'Change and Continuity in British Anti-Catholicism', Catholicism in Britain and France since 1789, eds Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett (Hambledon Press: 1996) 67–82:70–71, 78–79.

⁷⁵ Edward Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (Barnes and Noble: NY, 1968); Norman, The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (Clarendon: Oxford, 1984).

divide, as exceptions to an anti-Catholic norm.⁷⁶ The more grounded approach taken by Wolffe also characterised a number of focussed studies on mid-Victorian anti-Catholicism in the political sphere by Walter Arnstein, Machin, Denis Paz, and Walter Ralls.⁷⁷ All argued, despite their varying chronologies, that no-Popery was ingrained in the character of Britain's public life into the later nineteenth-century. Interestingly, Machin and Martin Wellings both suggested that it also heavily influenced anti-ritualism within the Church of England.⁷⁸ Developing this point, this thesis notes how Roman Catholics identified themselves against Anglican ritualism at the end of the nineteenth-century, defining their religiosity in terms of straight-forward historical integrity, and thereby making Roman Catholicism more palatable to Protestants than Anglo-Catholicism. None of the above accounts, however, offer a detailed chronology for the declining influence of anti-Catholicism. This blind-spot has been paralleled in a growing body of work on the Roman Catholic 'Second Spring'. This has a distorting emphasis on biographies, focussing mainly on Cardinal Newman,

⁷⁶ Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England, 79.

⁷⁷ Machin, 'The Maynooth Grant, the Dissenters and Disestablishment, 1845-47', EHR 82 (1967) 61-85; Walter Ralls, 'The Papal Aggression of 1850: a Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism', CH 43.2 (1974) 242-256; Machin, 'Lord John Russell and the Prelude to The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill'; Machin, Politics and the Churches, 1832-1868; Paz, 'Popular Anti-Catholicism in England'; Arnstein, Protestant Versus Catholic in mid-Victorian England; Machin, 'The Last Victorian anti-Ritualist Campaign', VS 25.3 (1982) 277-302; Machin, 'The Liberal Government and the Eucharistic Procession of 1908' JEH 34.4 (1983) 559-83; Machin, Politics and the Churches, 1869-1921; Paz, Popular anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England, (Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA, 1992).

⁷⁸ Machin, Politics and the Churches, 1869-1921, 43, 80-81; Wellings, Evangelicals Embattled, 49-52.

though occasionally, as in James Pereiro's work on Cardinal Manning, highlighting the contribution of other Roman Catholics to the intellectual history of the nineteenth-century.⁷⁹ Though some work in this field has discerned a growing confidence in English Roman Catholicism, it does not examine the role this played in over-turning an anti-Catholic spirit or re-shaping the categories of English public life.⁸⁰

Most recently, a literary historian, Michael Wheeler, has made a contribution to this field in The Old Enemies.⁸¹ The thesis has a certain amount in common with Wheeler's approach to Protestant-Catholic conflict, including his interest in historiographical evidence and the accent he placed on examining the Roman Catholic community's relationship to wider culture.⁸² Most studies of anti-Catholicism understandably focus on Protestant antagonism toward the Roman Catholic Church. In an all too brief section, Wheeler offered a corrective to this by looking at

⁷⁹ Most recently, this includes David Newsome, The Convert Cardinals (John Murray: 1993); Ian Ker, John Henry Newman (Clarendon: Oxford, 1998); Gilley, Newman and His Age (DLT: 2003); Roderick Strange, John Henry Newman: a Mind Alive (DLT: 2009); James Pereiro, Cardinal Manning: an Intellectual Biography (Clarendon: Oxford, 1998).

⁸⁰ Josef Altholz, 'Gladstone and the Vatican Decrees', The Historian 25.3 (1963) 312-24; Altholz, 'Newman and History', VS 7.3 (1964) 285-94; John Root, 'The "Academia of the Catholic Religion": Catholic Intellectualism in Victorian England', VS 23.4 (1980) 461-478; Ker, The Catholic Revival in English Literature, 1845-1961 (UNDP: Notre Dame, IN, 2003); Tenbus "'We Fight for the Cause of God'"; Tenbus, English Catholics and the Education of the Poor.

⁸¹ Michael Wheeler, The Old Enemies: Catholic and Protestant in Nineteenth-Century English Culture (CUP: Cambridge, 2007).

⁸² Ibid. 55, 61, 75, 106.

controversies between Roman Catholic and Protestant writers in Winchester from both sides of the conflict.⁸³ However, Wheeler largely saw the roots of Protestant–Catholic discord in a series of misreadings and misunderstandings. He did not do justice to the ideological opposition inherent in inter–religious cultural clashes. Rather than engaging with the arguments or examining the reception given to the historical texts he mentions, Wheeler also preferred to focus on those rare figures who were able to transcend the literary violence of the religious divide.

The Public Sphere

The phrase ‘public sphere’ appears throughout the thesis, and to a certain extent it is used because it is an evocative term which has an obvious usefulness – in its clear differentiation from a ‘private sphere’ existing behind closed doors – that does not require a theoretical justification. The term owes its popularity in the social sciences to Jürgen Habermas’ definition of a realm of communal life within which public opinion can be formed, mediating between society and the state.⁸⁴ Habermas argued that the creation of this realm was a reflection of the growing economic influence of the *bourgeoisie*, and it allowed them to contribute to a more inclusive redefinition of the principles underpinning government, while continuing to exclude the lower classes from such power.⁸⁵ Since the newspapers this thesis has used in an attempt to gauge popular attitudes to

⁸³ Ibid. 83–84.

⁸⁴ Jürgen Habermas, ‘The Public Sphere: an Encyclopaedia Article’, trans. Frank and Sara Lennox, New German Critique 3 (1974) 49–55.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 53.

Roman Catholicism in English society appealed to and reflected the attitudes of a reasonably affluent, respectable portion of the reading public, they could be seen as implicated in an assertion of middle-class values against the mob. There are undoubtedly limitations to the usefulness of newspapers when trying to gauge popular opinion, especially in a period when such texts were not easily accessible to the lowest socio-economic levels of society. However, in the absence of any form of historical evidence capable of fully reflecting the views of all levels of nineteenth-century society, such mediated expressions of popular opinion are the only possible way for a historian to estimate its mutations. Though a wide range of newspapers has been sampled in the preparation of this thesis, I have predominantly quoted from mainstream national newspapers, chiefly The Times, in its text. This might suggest that the conclusions of this thesis are based predominantly on papers with a middle-class readership. However, I have used them in this way because the reports and editorials of national newspapers tended to be longer and offer more detail than those of regional or special-interest publications, and I believe them still to be representative of popular opinion in their attitudes to Roman Catholicism. They also had a much larger, more diverse readership than special-interest publications such as The Church Times or The Tablet. I have made occasional references to such special-interest publications, or regional newspapers, in order to emphasise the common, growing acceptance of Roman Catholicism that was demonstrated across a range of newspapers. The way The Times's attitude to Roman Catholicism changed across the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century certainly mirrored the changing position of other serial publications, including those of varying political sympathies, issued in

different regions and appealing to different socio-economic groups. Though the press was far from supporting a single, monolithic value system, it articulated certain commonly-accepted attitudes to Roman Catholicism. Denis Paz's study of working class periodicals has emphasised how shared conventions defined the press's negative attitude toward Roman Catholicism in the middle of the nineteenth-century.⁸⁶ Though this thesis charts the positive change in these common conventions toward the end of the nineteenth-century, their commonality seems to have been maintained throughout the later period.

Habermas' definition of the public sphere has been so opposed to religion that the thesis could not adopt the term without distancing itself from much of his theoretical approach. Habermas' aggressively secular conception of the public sphere has indeed been criticised, and it is clear that there are considerable difficulties in imposing the hard boundaries between concepts of the religious and the secular he advocated, even in modern historical literature.⁸⁷ Since in this thesis the existence of a religiously defined sphere of public interaction has been observed, I have suggested that ideological

⁸⁶ Paz, 'Anti-Catholicism, Anti-Irish Stereotyping, and Anti-Celtic Racism in Mid-Victorian Working-Class Periodicals', *Albion* 18.4 (1986) 60–616:602, 607–608, 610–611.

⁸⁷ Craig Calhoun, 'Habermas and the Public Sphere', *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Calhoun (Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press: Cambridge, MA, 1999) 1–50:35–36; C.T. McIntire, 'The Shift from Church and State to Religions as Public Life in Modern Europe', *CH* 71.1 (2002) 152–167:163–164; Christine Lafont, 'Religion in the Public Sphere: Remarks on Habermas's Conception of Public Deliberation in Postsecular Societies', *Constellations* 14.2 (2007) 239–259:249–250; Jonathan van Antwerpen and Eduardo Mendieta, eds, *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere* (Columbia University Press: NY, 2011).

boundaries based predominantly on religion excluded some groups from this realm arbitrating the relationship between legitimate opinions and the government of the nation. This is a development of Habermas' ideas that also owes an intellectual debt to Maurice Cowling's concept of public doctrine.⁸⁸ The thesis examines a broadening of English national identity from its confinement within a public sphere defined by one acceptable public doctrine (the Protestant state) to that in which different public doctrines could be articulated. This was, I argue, a more pluralistic public sphere. It is these changing parameters of the English public discourse of national identity and religiosity which this thesis attempts to examine and explain.

From Secularisation to Pluralisation?

This thesis has obvious implications for the way historians see secularisation as having occurred in England. That process has been endlessly problematised. Scholars of secularisation have focussed on the declining demographic popularity of religion in Britain.⁸⁹ Literature on secularisation theory has moved away from an examination of the intellectual underpinnings of the loss of a privileged status for religious communities, examined by early pioneers like Chadwick, to examine

⁸⁸ Maurice Cowling, Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England, vol.1 (CUP: Cambridge, 1980) xii–xiii.

⁸⁹ Dominic Erdozain, “Cause is not Quite What it Used to Be”: The Return of Secularisation’, EHR 77.525 (2012) 377–400.

declining attendances and self-identified affiliations.⁹⁰ Most recently, there have been studies of the changing cultures of Christianity in Britain, but lacking an emphasis on the intellectual causes for the change in atmosphere and demographic decline that undoubtedly occurred.⁹¹ Redefining Christian Britain has drawn more attention to how religion in modern British society has been transformed, rather than destroyed; how despite falling levels of traditional observance, religious groups have maintained their ability to speak, in increasingly multiplying voices, in the English public sphere.⁹² Some clarity might be added to the contemporary academic discussions of the process of secularisation by a study of how a religiously pluralistic public sphere was first created in England. The examination of how a single religion lost hegemonic control of the public sphere has obvious implications for the declining influence of the concept of religious commitment in English society.⁹³ Adopting this kind of focus raises the possibility of reconciling the demographic conclusions of secularisation theory with an acknowledgement of the ongoing importance of religion in

⁹⁰ Chadwick, Secularization of the European Mind; Bentley, Modernizing England's Past, 45; Chapman, 'Intellectual History and Religion in Modern Britain', Seeing Things Their Way, 226–239:230; Jeremy Morris, 'The Strange Death of Christian Britain: Another Look at the Secularisation Debate', HJ 46.4 (2003) 963–976:975–976.

⁹¹ Callum Brown, The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800–2000 (Routledge: 2001); Brown, Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain (Pearson Education: Harlow, 2006); Peter Webster, 'Review: Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain', Reviews in History, <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/611>.

⁹² Jane Garnett, Grimley, Alana Harris, William Whyte and Sarah Williams, eds, Redefining Christian Britain: Post 1945 Perspectives (SCM Press: 2007); Chapman, 'Intellectual History and Religion in Modern Britain', 226, 228–229.

⁹³ S.J.D. Green, The Passing of Protestant England (CUP: NY, 2011) 87–88.

the United Kingdom. The thesis models how intellectual history can continue to contribute to studies of the changing relationship of religion and society in modern Britain. It also suggests that the religious pluralisation of the English public sphere may be a more important, and a more enduring focus of study, than its secularisation.

Conclusion

The study of the interplay between religious and national identities, and their historiographical contexts, is of considerable importance to understandings of the nature of public life in England in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century. The manner in which historical narratives first excluded Roman Catholics from the English public sphere, and then justified the inclusion of Roman Catholicism as an important part of English national identity, shows how a marginalised religious group can improve its cultural position by reworking the tools of its previous hegemonic repression. Examining the intentions and impact of Gasquet's work will allow the thesis to uncover the process by which the cultural emancipation of Roman Catholics in England was driven forward from within the Roman Catholic Church, and justified to the nation at large by the historical 'proof' that Roman Catholics not only belonged to the nation, but that, in a recovery of its relationship with Rome, it could rediscover its Christian origins and even a romanticised charitable civil order. An evaluation of the process by which Roman Catholics reconstructed English national identity so they could enter into the English public sphere may have ramifications for the way contemporary thinkers conceive of the

relationship between religion and the nation–state, as England struggles to develop an accepting concept of national identity which does not diminish the histories of religious groups or limit their place in the public and political spheres because of national security concerns.

CHAPTER I

CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF ROMAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

The following case studies illustrate how much the cultural emancipation of Roman Catholicism in England owed to the increasingly confident assertion of the historical integrity of Roman Catholicism, and of its importance to the ancient life of the nation. This led to a change in the way the boundaries of the religious identity of the nation were conceived. No longer was England commonly understood to have been founded on the rejection of Roman authority in the Reformation of the sixteenth-century; its origins in the mission of Augustine of Canterbury (*d.* 604) and the ministrations of his monastic *confrères* were instead emphasised, and were appreciated in a manner which newly recognised how much England owed to the contribution of Roman Catholics to a more broadly-conceived national past.⁹⁴

The first case study, focussing on reactions to the first Vatican Council, shows how the apparently competing claims of 'scientific' historical scholarship and the newly amplified teaching authority of the Roman Catholic *magisterium* were reconciled in English popular opinion. Historical narratives were used by Lord Acton (1834–1902), Gladstone and Ignaz von Döllinger (1799–1890), to demonstrate the incompatibility of the teachings of the Vatican Council with the historic beliefs of the Church. Acton and Gladstone also argued that the trustworthiness of English Roman Catholics

⁹⁴ Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Augustine (*d.* 604)', *ODNB*.

since the seventeenth-century had depended on their independence from the teaching authority of the Pope.⁹⁵ Gladstone feared that the constitutions of the Vatican Council would make such independence impossible, and destroy the loyalty of English Roman Catholics to the nation-state.

Apologists for the Vatican Council were forced to confront this historical sensibility as they attempted to reconcile the innovation of the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility with the past practice of the Church, and to show that Roman Catholics were still capable of acting in keeping with a heritage that was beginning to stress their loyalty to the nation. J.H.

Newman's (1801–1890, later Cardinal) reconciliation of Roman authority with the historic practice of the Roman Catholic Church using a theory of doctrinal development, made such a task possible.⁹⁶ His fusion of history and theology prevented historical scholarship from becoming seen as the unfaltering enemy of the Roman Catholic Church; this later justified the historical writings of English Roman Catholics. Newman's explanation of how individual freedom of judgement continued within papal infallibility also emphasised that Roman Catholics could be loyal to the pope and to the nation. Newman was able to state convincingly that the consistent historical loyalty of Roman Catholics to the nation-state would not be imperilled by the newly defined authority of the papacy.

The second case study examines some non-textual articulations of Roman Catholic historical consciousness in the later nineteenth and early twentieth-

⁹⁵ Altholz, 'Acton, John (1834–1902)', ODNB; Paul Baumgarten, 'Ignaz von Döllinger', The Catholic Encyclopaedia, vol.5 (Robert Appleton Company: NY, 1909), <http://www.newadvent.org>.

⁹⁶ Ker, 'Newman, John (1801–1890)', ODNB.

century. It briefly mentions, often with reference to newspaper accounts, church buildings, liturgies, sermons, music, commemorations, and conferences. The case study shows that popular understandings of Roman Catholicism were increasingly shaped by the written scholarship produced by popular figures like Gasquet, which was reflected and emphasised through non-textual religious culture. This was received among non-Catholics with increasing levels of tolerance, and interest.

The final case study examines reactions to the international Eucharistic Congress of 1908. Far from provoking a resurgence in popular anti-Catholicism, as might have been expected given the provocation of the Congress' assertion of the centrality of the sacrifice of the Mass to Roman Catholic identity, the Congress was received with great enthusiasm by the press. Even formerly or still illegal Roman Catholic religious practices, such as the presence of a papal representative, robed and cowled members of religious orders, and a proposed procession of the Host, excited popular interest rather than condemnation. The historical subjects of the Congress' formal sessions were well reported, and the efforts of Protestant associations to stir up antagonism toward popery were widely derided as reflecting an obsolete conception of national religious uniformity. The religious claims of Roman Catholicism may not always have received a sympathetic reception in England, but by 1908 the right to articulate them freely was widely acknowledged as being part of a new pluralism characterising the English public sphere.

This case study offers a very brief analysis of the most important texts which were produced to discuss the historical consistency of the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility, and the significance of the Vatican Council for British national security. The dogmatic definition of papal infallibility at the first Vatican Council appalled a number of historians and English politicians. There was a common perception that the Council's teaching was inconsistent with the previous claims of the Church, and that its decrees posed a danger to the peaceful relationship between English Roman Catholics and the British state. The provocative statement of the Pope's claim to global jurisdiction and universal teaching authority in the constitutions of the Council, *Dei Filius* and *Pastor Aeternus*, led Gladstone to fear that the Roman Catholic Church in England was divided in its loyalty. His polemical responses to the Vatican Council recalled earlier constructions of English Roman Catholicism which stressed the foreign allegiance of Roman Catholics, and therefore viewed them as potential threats to the national security, as well as illegitimate members of the national community. To Gladstone, the Vatican decrees posed a danger to civil order and the free exercise of religious beliefs, and raised the historical spectre of Roman Catholic treason.⁹⁷ Only in Newman's response to the Council were the theological and historical ramifications of its constitutions successfully reconciled using the theory of development. This led to the formation of a distinctive Roman Catholic approach to the relationship between religious and historical truth, which permitted loyal Roman

⁹⁷ Bebbington, *The Mind of Gladstone*, 226.

Catholics to engage in historical research without associating their activities with an absolute fidelity to historical fact which would have challenged the authority of the Church. As Kenneth Parker has demonstrated, the debates preceding the definition of papal infallibility at the first Vatican Council, and the controversies that followed its reception were defined by varying understandings of the way historical evidence intersected with the formation of Christian doctrine. Parker suggested that incompatible philosophies of history underpinned divergent uses of historical material and that this helped 'to create a space for critical historical investigation in the Catholic Church in the late nineteenth century'.⁹⁸ Newman also articulated a minimalist understanding of papal infallibility which, restricting the circumstances in which infallibility could be exercised, satisfied Gladstone, and acted as a moral limitation on the exercise of papal authority.

A number of German historical scholars argued that the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility created an unjustifiable and ahistorical authoritarianism within the Church. Döllinger was prepared to be excommunicated rather than accept that papal authority could redefine what was historically demonstrable. With the help of Lord Acton, he attacked the conduct of the Council while it was in session under the pseudonym Quirinus. Döllinger and Acton were troubled by the assumption that the Pope possessed the authority to direct a Council to pander to his interests in a way that had

⁹⁸ Parker, 'Historical Consciousness and the First Vatican Council: Manning, Döllinger, Newman, and Acton's Uses of "History" in the Papal Infallibility Debates', The Rise of Historical Consciousness Among the Christian Churches, 89–122:89–90; Parker, 'The Rise of Historical Consciousness Among the Christian Churches: an Introduction', The Rise of Historical Consciousness Among the Christian Churches, 1–16:6.

never before been acknowledged. They were concerned that 'the medieval pretension of the Pope to dominion over kings and nations, even in secular matters [would be] raised to the rank of an article of divine faith' by this abandonment of traditional conciliar practice.⁹⁹ Examples from history could, they argued, safeguard the freedom of the nations by showing that such powers had never been granted to previous popes, and so could not belong to Pius IX. Indeed, the idea that Roman Catholics were forced to believe such doctrines had been explicitly denied by English Roman Catholics as part of the process by which they had acquired their civic rights.¹⁰⁰ Emphasising such historic denials of papal infallibility, and combining these with evidence for the historical existence of amoral and heretical pontiffs, Döllinger and Acton wrote that it was impossible to observe the operation of papal infallibility in the Church's past. To Döllinger and Acton, the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility was

not strictly a question ... where one might make a willing submission of mind to a decree held to be the voice of divine revelation; it is a pure question of historical facts to be determined by historical evidence, of points on which every educated man capable of judging evidence ... can form an independent judgement.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ John Acton (first Baron Acton) and Ignaz von Döllinger (Quirinus), Letters from Rome on the Council (Rivingtons: 1870), 15; J.V. Conzemius, 'Lord Acton and the First Vatican Council', JEH 20.2 (1969) 267–294; Terence Murphy, 'Lord Acton and the Question of Moral Judgement in History', CHR 70.2 (1984) 225–250:242.

¹⁰⁰ Acton and Döllinger, Letters from Rome, 189, 359–360.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 485; Hinchliff, God and History, 159.

It could be argued that the later work of Acton, which was highly critical of the Church, was motivated by the need to deal with the historiographical legacy of the Vatican Council. In his adoption of a doctrine of development, his pursuit of a history of liberty, and his consideration of the value of authoritative moral judgement in history, Acton's writings after 1870 continued to revolve around themes of the Council.¹⁰²

Quirinus' use of a historical paradigm to limit the legitimate sphere of papal authority was mirrored by Anglican responses to the Vatican Council. Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885), Bishop of Lincoln, claimed the infallibility of the Pope could not be supported from historical evidence, and he therefore dismissed the Vatican Council's ability to give a dogmatic definition of papal infallibility.¹⁰³ He also attacked the Council's pretensions to ecumenicity, since it would not have constituted a Council of the Church in the patristic era. Wordsworth contrasted innovations in Roman Catholic ecclesiology and doctrine with the primitivism valued by the Church of England, which he believed was consistent with history yet conducive to the welfare of modern society.¹⁰⁴ After the Council had been dissolved, Wordsworth's criticisms were embodied in a resolution of the Convocation of Canterbury.¹⁰⁵ This argued that the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility was an invention of a new form of authority by the Roman

¹⁰² R.L. Schuettinger, Lord Acton, Historian of Liberty (Open Court Publishing: La Salle, IL, 1976) 30, 132, 159–163; Chadwick, Acton and History, 127, 210, 216–217, 236.

¹⁰³ Margaret Pawley, 'Wordsworth, Christopher (1807–1885)', ODNB.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Fitzsimons, 'The Church of England and the First Vatican Council', JEH 27.1 (2003) 29–46:32–36.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 41–42.

Catholic Church. This, as well as the Pope's claim to exercise this authority in England, was inconsistent with the conclusions of the historical scholarly community. The ontological basis for Protestant criticisms of the authority claims of the Roman Catholic Church was increasingly shifting, from an equation between Roman Catholicism and dangerous disloyalty to the nation, to the incompatibility of Roman Catholic doctrines with the conclusions of 'scientific' historical research.

The perception that the Vatican Council had expressed a doctrine flatly contradicted by historical evidence soon came to dominate discussions of the legitimacy of Roman Catholic religious and national identities. A few months after the collapse of his first ministry in 1874, inspired by a holiday discussing theological matters with Döllinger, Gladstone published Against the Vatican Decrees.¹⁰⁶ This alleged that the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility was incompatible with the historic trajectory of the Roman Catholic Church in England, and the historic doctrines of the wider Church. Gladstone believed the Vatican decrees showed the Roman Catholic

¹⁰⁶ Bebbington saw Gladstone's The Vatican Decrees as a direct response to Manning's Caesarism and Ultramontanism. It may also have been inspired by the conversion of the Marquess of Ripon to Roman Catholicism. Gladstone, Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion: Three Tracts: The Vatican Decrees–Vaticanism–Speeches of the Pope (John Murray: 1875); Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England, 92; Gladstone, The Gladstone Diaries, vol. 8 (July 1871–December 1874), ed. Matthew (Clarendon: Oxford, 1982) 530–531; Bebbington, The Mind of Gladstone, 225; Gilley, Newman and his Age, 348; Altholz, 'The Vatican Decrees Controversy', 597; Machin, Politics and the Churches, 1869–1921, 78–79; Altholz and Jonathan Powell, 'Gladstone, Lord Ripon and the Vatican Decrees, 1874', Albion 22.3 (1990) 449–459; Anthony Denholm, 'Robinson, George (1827–1909)', ODNB.

hierarchy was eager to abandon Christianity's ancient belief in reason and tradition, in favour of an appeal to naked authoritarianism.¹⁰⁷ Following 'Quirinus', Gladstone argued Roman Catholics had achieved legal emancipation in England because they denied the Roman Catholic Church taught papal infallibility.¹⁰⁸ Though many had seen them as allied to a foreign power, Gladstone felt that English Roman Catholics had mostly been loyal to the crown, and since their legal emancipation this had become more obvious. The dogmatic definition of papal infallibility in 1870 seemed to him an attempt to make English Roman Catholics betray this earlier position, on which their legal privileges and a fruitful relationship with the state had been based. In The Vatican Decrees and its sequel, Vaticanism, Gladstone called on English Roman Catholics to continue to uphold a tradition repudiating papal authority:

It is ... greatly to be desired, that the Roman Catholics of this country should do in the nineteenth century what their forefathers of England, except a handful of emissaries, did in the sixteenth, when they were marshalled in resistance to the Armada, and in the seventeenth, when, in despite of the Papal Chair, they sat in the House of Lords under the Oath of Allegiance.¹⁰⁹

Gladstone wanted English Roman Catholics to claim a cisalpine heritage, and abandon 'a school addicted to curialism and Jesuitism ... [that had] first brought upon them grievous sufferings, then succeeded in attaching a stigma

¹⁰⁷ Bebbington, The Mind of Gladstone, 222–223.

¹⁰⁸ Gladstone, The Vatican Decrees, xxxv, xxxix, xlii.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. lxxvi.

to their name, and now threatens gradually to accomplish a transformation of their opinions'.¹¹⁰

Gladstone was concerned that papal infallibility could, if accepted, destroy a tradition of national loyalty among English Roman Catholics, because the Pope might use his new authority to order them to betray their allegiance. In addition to fearing for the nation's security, he saw the concept of such papal power as a dangerous deviation from the universal practice of the Church. Gladstone devoted much of Vaticanism to arguing that an ultramontane understanding of papal authority, let alone the concept of papal infallibility, was an innovation in Church doctrine incompatible with historic ecclesiology.¹¹¹ He denounced the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility as a 'policy of violence and change in faith' that had to be resisted.¹¹² Instead of articulating the faith passed down from the Apostles, Gladstone believed Rome had substituted 'for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith ... she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history'.¹¹³

Acton replied to The Vatican Decrees to distance his co-religionists from what Gladstone believed would be the national security consequences of the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility.¹¹⁴ He wrote that Roman Catholics in England could not be forced into disloyalty to the state because of the

¹¹⁰ Gladstone, Vaticanism, 41.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 46–50, 58, 61, 110.

¹¹² Ibid. 50.

¹¹³ Gladstone, The Church of England and Ritualism (Strahan and Co: 1875) 30.

¹¹⁴ 'Mr Gladstone and the Vatican Decrees', The Times 28155 (9 November 1874) 9.

Pope's newly defined infallibility. They would continue, as they always had done, to ignore Rome's instructions if these went against their consciences.¹¹⁵ Believing historical evidence to be a superior arbiter of truth to papal authority, Acton showed how the papacy had acted amorally in the past, and English Roman Catholics had proved their virtue by abjuring its authority.¹¹⁶

[O]pinions likely to injure our position as loyal subjects of a Protestant sovereign ... have flourished at various times ... But I affirm that, in the fiercest conflict of the Reformation, when the rulers of the Church had ... exhausted every resource of their authority, both political and spiritual, the bulk of the English Catholics retained the spirit of a better time.¹¹⁷

Acton had no faith in the morality of popes. He found security from their authoritarianism in the stolid affection English Roman Catholics had for their national past, above that they entertained for the orders of Rome.

Döllinger, Acton and Gladstone saw Roman Catholicism as abandoning historical consistency and an understanding of truth as authenticated by historical scholarship, for an authoritarianism based in historical ignorance. Their shared ontology of religion even led to ecumenical accommodations on religious questions.¹¹⁸ More positive reactions to the Vatican Council's constitutions expressed a similar belief in the incompatibility of the Church's recent assertion of power and the authority of historical

¹¹⁵ Altholz, 'The Vatican Decrees Controversy', 600.

¹¹⁶ Parker, 'Historical Consciousness and the First Vatican Council', 107.

¹¹⁷ 'Mr Gladstone and the Vatican Decrees', The Times 28155, 9.

¹¹⁸ Bebbington, The Mind of Gladstone, 222; The Gladstone Diaries, vol.8, 531.

scholarship. They also attacked the idea that the Vatican Council should have considered the independent interests of the nation–state in its deliberations. Cardinal Manning’s (1808–1892) response to the *Kulturkampf* provoked by the Council in Germany, Caesarism and Ultramontanism, provided an aggressive juxtaposition of the claims of ecclesiastical and governmental sources of authority.¹¹⁹ Manning argued that the state had to defer to the Church within the spiritual sphere, and in the definition of the boundaries of that spiritual sphere.¹²⁰ Manning, and those who opposed his ultramontane position, turned to a discussion of the authority of historical evidence to adjudicate the competing claims of Church and State. But in his spiritual autobiography, Religio Viatoris, Manning attacked the idea that historical evidence possessed any independent authority by which such questions could be judged, claiming ‘[t]he triumph of dogma over history ... means this: the Church defines its doctrines in spite of you, because it knows its history better than you’.¹²¹ Manning saw the Church as exercising supreme authority over history, defying those who appealed to the Church’s past for precedents opposed to the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility.

Newman’s Letter to the Duke of Norfolk was the most famous response to Gladstone’s allegation that the Vatican decrees might force Roman

¹¹⁹ H.E. Manning, Caesarism and Ultramontanism (B&O: 1874); Jeffrey von Arx, ‘Archbishop Manning and the *Kulturkampf*’, Recusant History 21.2 (1992) 244–266; Newsome, ‘Manning, Henry (1808–1892)’, ODNB.

¹²⁰ Cowling, Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England: Assaults, vol.2 (CUP: Cambridge, 1985) 99–100.

¹²¹ Manning, Religio Viatoris (B&O: 1880) quoted in Parker, ‘Historical Consciousness and the First Vatican Council’, 109.

Catholics to become disloyal to the state, and were a deviation from the historic, catholic faith.¹²² Newman stressed the Vatican Council had not created an authoritarian papal power, under whose orders English Roman Catholics could be forced to abandon their legitimate allegiance to the state: the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility would not turn Englishmen into popish automatons. Rather than bluntly asserting, like Acton, that Roman Catholics had ignored the Pope's orders in the past and would do so again, however, Newman blended precise theological language with a historical awareness, to defend the continuing legitimacy of individual autonomy of judgement within the Roman Catholic Church.¹²³ Newman emphasised that, according to the Vatican Council, the Pope only claimed infallible authority to teach the immutable faith of the Church. He was not expected, and could not be divinely inspired, to create new doctrines, and he was only prevented by the Holy Spirit from being in error when he pronounced the belief of the Church.¹²⁴ Therefore Newman argued the Pope could not give specific instructions or make laws using his infallible authority, as Gladstone had implied.¹²⁵ Apart from his separate powers as ruler of the Papal States, the Pope did not possess the kind of authority a politician did, giving commands as to specific actions demanding obedience.¹²⁶ Newman wrote, '[t]hese conditions ... contract the range of his infallibility most materially'.¹²⁷

¹²² Newman, A Letter Addressed to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk on the Occasion of Mr Gladstone's Recent Expostulation (B.M. Pickering: 1875).

¹²³ Altholz, 'The Vatican Decrees Controversy', 601; Altholz, 'Newman and History', 294.

¹²⁴ Newman, Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, 115–119; Gilley, Newman and his Age, 389.

¹²⁵ Newman, Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, 62.

¹²⁶ Ibid. 29–30, 37.

¹²⁷ Ibid. 115.

Newman argued that papal authority, even when elevated to infallibility, could be understood as a religious authority that need not conflict with the proper exercise of a government's power.

The exercise of any papal authority, Newman claimed, was also subject to a further spiritual safeguard, resting on the divine inspiration of an individual's conscience. His understanding of the authority of conscience was extremely elevated, believing it performed the highest function governing a person's moral sense, as their 'aboriginal vicar of Christ'.¹²⁸ Newman believed the conscience, shaped by reason and the Church's teaching, was incapable of coming into conflict with the authentic doctrines of the Church.¹²⁹ If a conflict did come to exist between the commands of the Pope and the dictates of an individual's conscience, Newman believed this would show the Pope was not exercising his authority in an infallible sense, and he would not have to be obeyed.¹³⁰ As Newman put it, '[c]ertainly, if I am obliged to bring religion into after-dinner toasts ... I shall drink, to the Pope, if you please, – still to Conscience first, and to the Pope afterwards'.¹³¹ Newman's early understanding of conscience resembled and seems to have influenced W.G. Ward's (1812–1882) Ideal of a Christian Church.¹³² The position Newman took in his Letter also had

¹²⁸ Ibid. 57; Hinchliff, God and History, 35–36.

¹²⁹ Newman, Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, 20–22, 43–45, 51–55.

¹³⁰ John Page, What will Dr. Newman do? John Henry Newman and Papal Infallibility, 1865–1875 (Michael Glazier: Collegeville, MI, 1994) 303–304.

¹³¹ Newman, Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, 66.

¹³² Theodore Hoppen, 'W.G. Ward and Liberal Catholicism', JEH 23.4 (1972) 323–344; 235–236; Gilley, 'Ward, William (1812–1882)', ODNB.

parallels with the controversial article he had produced for The Rambler in 1859, 'On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine'. This argued that collectively, the laity could be relied upon to authenticate the orthodoxy of Church teaching by their reception of it.¹³³ Newman's idea of divinely-inspired conscience strengthened the tradition that catholicity was not defined by the Church's positive actions but by the judgement of the whole world on those actions.¹³⁴

The influence of a theory of development on the Letter was shown by Newman's articulation of a discontinuous approach to historical theory that reconciled the actions of the Vatican Council with the past practice of the Church.¹³⁵ Newman saw the Roman Catholic Church as clarifying, through the authority of the magisterium and the reception of the faithful, the original roots of the catholic faith, offering a developing articulation in which the Pope could teach '[t]ruths which are not upon the surface of the Apostolic *depositum* ... but which from time to time are brought forth by theologians, and sometimes have been proposed to the faithful of the Church'.¹³⁶ These developments were the

¹³³ Newman, On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine, ed. John Coulson (Sheed & Ward: Oxford, 2006); Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England: The 'Rambler' and its Contributors, 1848–1864 (B&O: 1962) 98–112; Damian McElrath, 'Richard Simpson and John Henry Newman: The Rambler, Laymen, and Theology', *CHR* 52.4 (1967) 509–533:520–523.

¹³⁴ Newman, On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine, 33–34.

¹³⁵ Chadwick, From Bousset to Newman: the Idea of Doctrinal Development (CUP: 1957); Hinchliff, God and History, 37–45, 48.

¹³⁶ Altholz, 'Newman and History', 287–289.

new form ... of what in substance was held from the first ... and in that sense really portions of the legacy of truth, of which the Church, in all her members, but especially in her hierarchy, is the divinely appointed trustee.¹³⁷

In newly defining these truths, Newman denied that

the testimony of history was repudiated or perverted. The utmost that can be fairly said by an opponent against the theological decisions of those years is that, antecedently to the event, it might appear that there was no sufficient historical grounds for a belief in either of them ... for the purpose of converting a doctrine long existing in the Church into a dogma and making it a portion of the Catholic Creed. This adverse anticipation was proved to be a mistake by the fact of the definition being made.¹³⁸

Newman claimed the definition and reception of an infallibly defined article of faith proved it had always subsisted, albeit hidden, within the original revelation to the Apostles.¹³⁹ Newman did not claim that the Roman Catholic Church was subject to the judgement of historians, as Acton did, but he did argue its teaching was historically consistent.

Further, Newman claimed that in its government and its definition of papal infallibility, the contemporary Roman Catholic Church was following a primitive model. It was carving out an area where a 'tradition of Apostolical

¹³⁷ Newman, Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, 105.

¹³⁸ Ibid. 106.

¹³⁹ Ibid. 105–110; Page, What will Dr. Newman do?, 422–444.

independence' could be maintained.¹⁴⁰ He wrote that the erection of a separate sphere of ecclesial authority in the early Church had prevented the corruption of the Church's witness to the gospel, though this had occurred where the independence of Church authority was not guaranteed. While Newman claimed Roman Catholics were usually loyal to the state, he also believed it was necessary for the Church to continue to embody a historic tradition opposing illegitimate assertions of government authority. This reflected Manning's desire to build separate Roman Catholic structures within English society, to avoid the Roman Catholic Church being seduced into erastianism by the power of Anglican culture or the lure of government funds. However, toward the end of the nineteenth-century, Roman Catholics showed increasing enthusiasm for a role in the wider English public sphere, and benefitted from the cultural capital which the decline of religious segregation accrued for their Church.

Newman's work reconciling historical thinking with papal authority was not well received by the curial hierarchy. He was attacked at Rome for not testifying to the permanence of papal authority, but defended against open censure by Manning and Bernard Ullathorne (1806–1889), Bishop of Birmingham, since they believed the Letter to the Duke of Norfolk had done so much to improve the opinion of English Protestants about the Vatican Council's constitutions.¹⁴¹ Had Newman been condemned for the opinions expressed in the Letter, this positive work would have been undone. Manning and Ullathorne's refusal to cooperate with the Holy Office in the

¹⁴⁰ Newman, Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, 18–19:19.

¹⁴¹ Judith Champ, 'Ullathorne, William [*name in religion* Bernard] (1806–1889)', ODNB.

correction of Newman helped to establish the conditions in which historical scholarship became viewed as a highly effective justification of Roman Catholicism in the English political sphere at the end of the nineteenth-century.¹⁴² They were able to claim that contemporary British society would find great benefits from drawing on the historical traditions of the Roman Catholic Church, and thereby intellectually reconciling the authority of the universal Church with its specific, historic manifestation in England. Newman's contribution to the debate on the reception of papal infallibility attempted to reconcile the appeal Döllinger, Acton and Gladstone made to the definitive reality of historical fact, with the Vatican Council's assertion of the supra-historical authority of the Church.¹⁴³ Claiming that a coherent development of doctrine had occurred throughout the Church's history, as the sole original deposit of faith was explored and articulated within specific historical contexts, Newman reconciled history with theology, and Roman Catholics in England to the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility.¹⁴⁴

Reconsecrating Roman Catholic England

The Roman Catholic historical consciousness of the later nineteenth-century was not only rooted in political discourse and doctrinal debates. Though the importance of such written sources is most obvious to a modern historian, a more comprehensive understanding of its cultural scope and richness can be provided by the acknowledgement that historical culture

¹⁴² Gilley, *Newman and his Age*, 391–392.

¹⁴³ Altholz, 'Newman and History', 294; Hinchliff, *God and History*, 151–152.

¹⁴⁴ Parker, 'Historical Consciousness and the First Vatican Council', 99, 102.

was also formed and expressed through the artistic and architectural fashions of the time, and in public events and liturgies. This chapter will now examine an illustrative series of non-textual articulations of Roman Catholicism's historical credentials from the 1890s and 1900s, to show how the public representation of Roman Catholicism was increasingly defined by historical confidence and assertiveness. The (admittedly textual) press coverage given to these articulations of Roman Catholicism's historical credentials reinforced and reflected public identification with the historical identity of the Roman Catholic Church in England. An examination of the often enthusiastic reports of The Times indicates an increasing public sympathy for this understanding of the Roman Catholic Church's relationship to English society. To understand the message of Roman Catholic continuity that motivated A.W. Pugin's (1812–1852) architecture, a Protestant would have needed to visit one of his confessionally unfamiliar churches and look around it with some degree of visual literacy, or engage with a specialist publication from an organisation like the Camden Society.¹⁴⁵ Half a century after his death, the readers of The Times were all given an account of the dedication of St Alban's, London Road, with the intended significance of its dedication and decorative scheme made plain. This church was constructed in Romanesque style, and at the dedication Algernon Stanley (1843–1928), titular Bishop of Emmaus and auxiliary of Westminster, alluded to its model, St Albans Abbey, as a sign of what England had been before the Reformation, and what Cardinal Vaughan (1832–1903), then recently deceased, had hoped it would become again:

¹⁴⁵ James White, The Cambridge Movement: the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival (CUP: Cambridge, 1979); Alexandra Wedgwood, 'Pugin, Augustus (1812–1852)', ODNB.

Roman Catholic.¹⁴⁶ In liturgies, lectures, building programmes and processions, the Roman Catholic Church emphasised the role it had played in the conversion of England to Christianity, and in building the nation in the pre-Reformation period. In the presentation of their faith, the English Roman Catholic hierarchy blended an assertion of Roman authority, originating or delegated from the Pope, with an emphasis on the inseparability of the Roman Catholic Church from the national past. The press, with increasing sympathy, transmitted this propaganda to an extended audience.

In 1892 Vaughan, then newly appointed as Archbishop of Westminster, received the pallium, the white woollen band symbolising metropolitan jurisdiction delegated from the Pope, at the Brompton Oratory. This was the first major ceremony of the 1890s acting as a public articulation of the historical character of the English Roman Catholic Church. Vaughan was the first English Archbishop since Cardinal Pole (1500–1558) to receive the pallium on English soil.¹⁴⁷ Both of his predecessors at Westminster, Wiseman and Manning, had received it when visiting Rome, and Vaughan invested the reception of the ancient symbol of papal jurisdiction in England with great significance. His investiture with the pallium was marked by pamphlets by Herbert Thurston (1856–1939), the Jesuit writer, and John Moyes (1851–1927), Canon Theologian of Westminster Cathedral, on the

¹⁴⁶ 'Ecclesiastical Intelligence', The Times 37116 (25 June 1903) 11; 'Mgr. Stanley', The Times 44875 (24 April 1928) 21; David van Zanten, 'The Romanesque Church of St. Albans', Gesta 4 (1965) 23–27; McClelland, 'Vaughan, Herbert (1832–1903)', ODNB.

¹⁴⁷ T.F. Mayer, 'Pole, Reginald (1500–1558)', ODNB.

historical and jurisdictional significance of the vestment.¹⁴⁸ Moyes's pamphlet was the more ponderous, and its grandiloquent title emphasised that the symbol of Vaughan's authority over the Roman Catholic Church in England came direct from the prince of the Apostles. The reception of the pallium in England, coupled with Vaughan's swift elevation to the cardinalate in 1893, was a sign of Leo XIII's (1810–1903) confidence in the cultural strength of the English Roman Catholic Church in the 1890s. On his elevation to the cardinalate, Leo gave Vaughan *Santi Andrea e Gregorio Magno al Monte Celio* as his titular church in Rome; the church which Manning possessed before him and which, more importantly, was named in honour of Gregory I, the Pope who had sent Augustine to evangelise England in the sixth-century.

The reception of the pallium was marked by stately pageantry: the Brompton Oratory was filled with dignitaries, headed by the papal representative Edmund Stonor (1831–1912), titular Archbishop of Trebizond and canon of *San Giovanni in Laterano*, and the Roman Catholic aristocracy, headed by the Duke of Norfolk (1847–1917).¹⁴⁹ The choir sang plainchant which The Manchester Guardian enthused 'might almost have

¹⁴⁸ Herbert Thurston, The Pallium (CTS: 1892); John Moyes, The Order of the Solemn Acceptance of the Sacred Pallium from the Body of Blessed Peter the Apostle: Its Use and Significance (B&O: 1892); 'Mgr. Canon John Moyes: Theologian and Historian', The Times 44528 (12 March 1927) 14; Mary Heimann, 'Thurston, Herbert (1856–1939)', ODNB.

¹⁴⁹ Anonymous, 'Howard, Henry Fitzalan– (1847–1917)', rev. K.D. Reynolds, ODNB.

been composed by Palestrina for Cardinal Pole's investiture'.¹⁵⁰ Gasquet gave the sermon, reflecting that the congregation was witnessing

a revival of Catholicity in England ... the renewal of what took place age after age in this land of England, in the case of every occupant of the throne of St. Augustine, as long as the Church of Canterbury remained faithful to the Church of God.¹⁵¹

Gasquet meditated on the continuous loyalty of the English Roman Catholic Church to the origins of English Christianity and its contemporary possession of the same authority that had been given to the first English archbishops by Gregory I. He traced the defence of those ancient powers by Thomas Becket, and the 'treachery' of Thomas Cranmer who swore 'perjured obedience to the Pope' before rejecting the hallowed authority of tradition and claiming to hold office solely from the king.¹⁵² Gasquet made an explicit distinction between the authority of the Pope in spiritual matters, delegated to the Archbishop of Westminster, and the highly bounded authority of the monarch in temporal matters, which had been unlawfully elevated by Henry VIII's rebellion against the Pope and debased by Anglican erastianism. Vaughan's reception of the pallium was also a sign of the discontinuity and illegitimacy of the established church when compared with the Roman Catholic communion.

¹⁵⁰ 'The Investiture of Archbishop Vaughan', The Manchester Guardian (17 August 1892)

8.

¹⁵¹ 'The Investiture of Archbishop Vaughan', The Times 33719 (17 August 1892) 4.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

Gasquet spoke at length on the theme of catholic continuity, claiming that the Church of England had changed its religion, but English Roman Catholics had preserved 'a continuity of faith and practice', symbolised by

This habit which I wear ... [which] tells me, tells you, brethren ... that we, and we alone, possess that true continuity of Catholic life which others would fain enjoy ... this, too, is a witness of a continuity which carries us back ... to ... the Chair of Peter, whence, at the command of St. Peter's successor 1,300 years ago, the children of Benedict came as the apostle of the English race.¹⁵³

The Times remarked that

The historian will observe the proceedings of yesterday as a landmark in the successive attitudes of public opinion towards the Roman Catholic Church and its claims. A generation ago ... a religious function such as that of yesterday would have raised a storm of indignant protest ... To the student of history the period between the passing of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, when Pius IX created a Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country, and the present time is especially noteworthy as marking by definite epochs the transition from the old fear and hatred of Rome to the spirit of perfect toleration of all religions.¹⁵⁴

In 1897, in Pugin's gothic revival church at St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, a Pontifical High Mass was celebrated commemorating the landing of Augustine at Ebbsfleet in 597. The Roman Catholic celebration

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

of the ancient mission to convert England overshadowed the shambolic Anglican commemoration of Augustine's arrival in England which had occurred as part of the Lambeth conference. Indeed, Anglican attitudes to Augustine were tinged with embarrassment about the relationship between his Church in Kent and Rome.¹⁵⁵ The Roman Catholic memorialisation of the apostolate to the English was accompanied by a Catholic Truth Society conference, which ensured considerable publicity was given to the occasion, and the conference's assertion of continuity between the contemporary Roman Catholic Church and the first Archbishop of Canterbury. Vaughan's address to the conference claimed the nation owed its Christianity and its existence to Augustine's mission:

By rapid degrees England became Catholic. Under the authority of the Apostolic See cathedrals and monasteries sprang up over all the land ... Everywhere the cathedrals and the monasteries became the nurseries of the Christian civilization of England. They were ... homes of English liberty; and, at the same time, barriers against the encroachments and tyranny of the secular arm ... And there is no one now who will deny that the making of England was largely the work of the Catholic and Roman Church.¹⁵⁶

Vaughan emphasised that the faith brought to England by emissaries of Rome had underpinned civil society, establishing and guaranteeing the rights of the individual against the state. Only the tyranny of Henry VIII had destroyed the protection the Church had offered to England, and caused the fragmentation of English Christianity. This was a radical alternative to the

¹⁵⁵ MacFarlane, 'Cultures of Anglican Hagiography', 108–111.

¹⁵⁶ 'The Ebbs Fleet Celebration', *The Times* 35308 (14 September 1897) 8.

interpretation of English history which had been advanced by anti-Catholics since the Reformation, which claimed Roman Catholicism consistently undermined individual freedom through its authoritarian structures.

Vaughan skipped lightly over the experiences of recusancy, to suggest a resurgence in Roman Catholicism's influence over English society was occurring in the present day. This was due to a new, prevailing spirit of toleration for Roman Catholicism. Vaughan's assertion of religious continuity was based on a lack of acknowledgement of the discontinuities which an alternative narrative of the historical experience of English Roman Catholics might have highlighted. As the Roman Catholic community recovered a secure position within the English public sphere, the rhetoric of its revival increasingly ignored the exclusionary experience of recusancy and the English Mission, as if out of embarrassment.

Vaughan claimed that now the Pope had sent the English a man wearing 'the same pallium; [he] exercises the same metropolitan jurisdiction; teaches the same doctrines; uses holy water; venerates relics; offers the same sacrifice of the Mass as in the days of St. Augustine'.¹⁵⁷ He castigated the Anglican Churches, in contrast, for their lack of historical consistency: Vaughan claimed '[a]ll England knows that the fair line of continuity in faith and doctrine falls among those who no longer hold the ancient cathedrals or dispose of the ancient revenues. We hold the ancient faith, others hold the ancient foundations'.¹⁵⁸ He expressed the hope that in keeping with the thirty-fourth resolution of the 1897 Lambeth Conference,

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

Anglicans might work and pray for visible unity in Christendom on the model of historical integrity the Roman Catholic Church represented, and that his own flock might assist in that work by distributing CTS pamphlets to Anglicans. These asserted that the visible unity of the Roman Catholic Church with its past was a mark of its authenticity.¹⁵⁹

Another way Vaughan suggested Roman Catholics could work for the visible unity of the Church was by joining the Pope's new confraternity for the conversion of England. This had recently been founded in honour of the anniversary of St Augustine's mission and was a consequence of Leo's hope, following his condemnation of Anglican orders as 'absolutely null and utterly void' the previous year, that the nation might return to its former Roman obedience. Vaughan concluded his address saying that the confraternity was designed to build on the tradition of prayers for England's conversion which he believed had already inclined the hearts of the nation toward the Roman Catholic Church. In conversions and in a new sympathy among non-Catholics for the half-understood doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, he saw the fruit of these intercessions growing.

The change, the conversion, that has come over England during the present century is without a parallel in Christendom ... England is not, indeed, Catholic, far from it; but multitudes have swung so far round that they are more than half Catholic. There has been a revival of religious sentiment, a desire for unity, which clearly makes

¹⁵⁹ The Lambeth Conference: Resolutions Archive 1897 (Anglican Communion Office: 2005) 8.

towards unity. Truth after truth has been accepted, until men stand before the last step to be taken if they would cross the chasm.¹⁶⁰

The Pope's particular blessing for the ceremonies commemorating Augustine's landing admonished English Roman Catholics to work for a new unity with other Christians for the love of their country, while at the same time cherishing the faith transmitted to them from their fathers.¹⁶¹ In fact it was through the articulation of their historic religion that they hoped to win their countrymen back to Rome.

In 1903, Westminster Cathedral opened for worship. Though built in the Byzantine style, rather than a distinctively English or Puginesque neo-medieval fashion, its decorative scheme was intended to reflect the historical continuity of Roman Catholicism in England. The combination of the Cathedral's architectural and proposed decorative features suggests Vaughan's desire to model an ultramontane yet thoroughly English church. A series of historical consultants, including Gasquet and Bishop, were asked to develop ideas for the extensive series of mosaics intended to embellish the building. These included representations of stories of England's evangelisation from Rome, and a succession of saints from all the periods of England's history: far from concentrating on the martyrs of the Reformation and the Mission, most schemes suggested an extensive treatment of the early and medieval Church as forming the 'landmarks of our island

¹⁶⁰ 'The Ebbs Fleet Celebration', The Times 35308, 8.

¹⁶¹ This does not seem to be reported anywhere in the contemporary press accounts. ASV, 66, 1, Herbert Vaughan to Leo XIII (6 August 1897) 156–7, Leo to Vaughan (30 August 1897) 158–160.

story'.¹⁶² This visual accent on the historical nature of the English Roman Catholic Church was married to a liturgical assertion of its continuity. In his desire to establish Westminster Cathedral as the linear successor to Westminster Abbey, a citadel of constant prayer located at the ancient seat of government, Vaughan attempted to re-found the medieval community of Benedictines who had maintained the monastic offices at the abbey prior to its dissolution. He tried to convince members of the contemporary English Benedictine Congregation, who traced their heritage back to a monk of Westminster, that it would be particularly appropriate for them to establish a community there.¹⁶³

However, Vaughan's plans came into conflict with a different, equally historically articulate sense of the Church's mission. Gasquet, Abbot-President of the English Benedictine Congregation, would not support a mission at Westminster Cathedral from an English Benedictine Congregation monastery or countenance the introduction there of French Benedictines from the Solesmes congregation.¹⁶⁴ Vaughan's plans were not in keeping with the impetus towards a more contemplative life encouraged within the English Benedictine Congregation by the Downside movement.

¹⁶² Vaughan's death brought an end to these immediate plans. Winefride de l'Hôpital, Westminster Cathedral and its Architect: The Building of the Cathedral, vol.1 (Hutchinson: 1919) 225–242:230.

¹⁶³ Charles Currier, History of Religious Orders (Murphy and McCarthy: NY, 1898) 104.

¹⁶⁴ Rene Kollar, Westminster Cathedral: from Dream to Reality (Faith & Life Publications Ltd: Edinburgh, 1987) 102–113; Bellenger, 'The English Benedictines: the Search for a Monastic Identity', Monastic Studies: the Continuity of Tradition, ed. Judith Loades (Headstart History: Bangor, 1990) 229–321.

This emphasised the historic continuity of the congregation's witness in England now and in the 'Age of Faith', by moving to re-establish successors to the ancient abbeys of Glastonbury, Colchester and Reading. At Downside, the building of the Abbey church acted as a focus for the community's imaginative recreation of Glastonbury, a symbolic and architectural articulation of the continuity of English Roman Catholicism with the mythic roots of the nation.¹⁶⁵ Westminster Cathedral therefore instead recruited the former Downside teacher Richard Runciman Terry (1863–1938) to direct a lay choir providing the liturgical music of the foundation. Under Terry's direction, the choir asserted the Cathedral's continuity with pre-Reformation worship. The Cathedral became the centre of a revival in Tudor polyphony that linked the new Cathedral's ministry with the round of services performed by its medieval exemplar.¹⁶⁶

The emphasis placed on the historical contribution of the Roman Catholic Church to the nation's foundation and wellbeing, through these widely reported public events, inspired an assertive, rather brittle, confidence among English Roman Catholics. The enactment of a Roman Catholic historical narrative in these public displays forced the English to acknowledge a growing appreciation for the legacies of medieval religion, and to connect that appreciation with the contemporary Roman Catholic Church. The enculturation of a historical paradigm through which English men and women could appreciate the positive aspects of Roman Catholic

¹⁶⁵ Bellenger, ed., Downside Abbey: an Architectural History (Merrell: 2011).

¹⁶⁶ T.E. Muir, Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791–1914: a Handmaid of the Liturgy? (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008) 223–246; John Harper, 'Terry, Richard (1864–1938)', ODNB.

identity brought England to the brink of acknowledging the benefits that Roman Catholicism could now bring to British society. At the close of the nineteenth-century there was a growing belief among English Roman Catholics that the prejudiced confines of the Protestant confessional state had been abandoned, and that Roman Catholicism deserved to be returned to a place of honour in the English public sphere. However, the assertiveness of the English Roman Catholic hierarchy in pursuit of this aim proved provocative.

The Eucharistic Congress of 1908

Though most English people were far from catholic in their religious tastes, by the later years of Edward VII's reign they recognised that the Roman Catholic Church had, through its demonstration of its historical contribution to the nation, established a legitimate claim to its place in the national present. This can be shown through a short study of the international Eucharistic Congress of 1908, held in London. Because the proposed finale of the Congress, a procession of the Host through London's streets, provoked complaints from anti-Catholics, secondary studies which have examined the Congress have characterised it as indicating that popular anti-Catholicism was still a feature of English society. G.I.T. Machin saw protests against the procession, threatening symbolic and iconoclastic violence, as expressing residual anti-Catholicism. Carol Devlin argued the threat of anti-Catholic protests was laughably anachronistic but that the government's timorous response to these encouraged an increasingly

sectarian approach by Roman Catholics to the education question.¹⁶⁷

However it is argued in this chapter that an increasing acceptance of a pluralising ideal of the religious identity of the English nation was revealed in press support for the right of Roman Catholics to testify to their faith in the public sphere. Further, the popular response to the Eucharistic Congress was enthusiastic about the distinctive historical claims it made for the contribution of Roman Catholicism to English society. The presence of a Cardinal legate – an emissary of the Pope who entered the country to proclaim the sacrifice of the Mass – inspired widespread positive interest in the Congress, rather than an outbreak of anti-Popery which might have been expected given the traditional English attitude to the Papacy.¹⁶⁸ This went beyond mere toleration for Roman Catholicism's existence in England. English society was embracing the existence of dissonant and conflicting sources of religious and governmental authority, within the same common culture.

Protests against the Eucharistic Congress were organised by groups who were increasingly marginalised, and were increasingly seen as extremists by their co-religionists, such as the Protestant Alliance, the Imperial Protestant Federation and the National Club. Ironically, their views were seen as being constrained by an outdated understanding of the relationship between religion and national identity at the same time as the Roman Catholic

¹⁶⁷ Machin, 'The Liberal Government and the Eucharistic Procession of 1908' 562; Carol Devlin, 'The Eucharistic Procession of 1908: The Dilemma of the Liberal Government', *CH* 63.3 (1994) 407–425; Lubenow, *Liberal Intellectuals and Public Culture*, 172–175.

¹⁶⁸ 'The Coming Eucharistic Congress: Statement by Cardinal Vannutelli', *The Times* 38726 (15 August 1908) 5.

Church was demonstrating its increasing social relevance through an assertion of its historically-defined identity. Anti-Catholic protesters were widely ridiculed in the press for their failure to accommodate themselves to the new assumption that religious toleration should increasingly define the borders of the English public sphere.¹⁶⁹ The focus of their protests, the Congress' finale, in which the Host would be carried through the streets of Westminster accompanied by clergy in their vestments, accentuated the impression that anti-Catholicism was expressive of historical obscurantism. They objected to it on the grounds that it would violate the terms of the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829, and in defence of the letter of the law, they petitioned the King to stop the procession.¹⁷⁰ These provisions of the Act were widely viewed as obsolete, and Roman Catholics had organised a number of processions prior to 1908 without prosecution.

Machin and Devlin agreed that the government took the threat of Protestant disturbances seriously. The Home Secretary, Herbert Gladstone (1854–1930, later Viscount Gladstone), worried that there might be some outbreaks of violence in Belfast, and the Marquess of Ripon even thought there might be disorder in London directly associated with the procession.¹⁷¹ However, though the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Bourne (1861–1935), was eventually asked to cancel the procession in order to avoid provoking anti-

¹⁶⁹ WDA, AFA (1), Newspaper Clippings.

¹⁷⁰ 'Protestants and the Procession: The Petition to the King', The Times 38748 (10 September 1908) 6.

¹⁷¹ WDA, BO 1/52, Eucharistic Congress, Herbert Gladstone to Francis Bourne (second letter of 10 September 1908), George Robinson to Bourne (9 September 1908); Matthew, 'Gladstone, Herbert (1854–1930)', ODNB.

Catholics through a possible infringement of the law, neither Herbert Asquith (1852–1928, later Earl of Oxford and Asquith) nor Gladstone in fact perceived the threat of direct public demonstration against the procession as credible.¹⁷² Gladstone could not believe ‘that any reasonable people would or could object to such a Procession organized with due regard to the law and general convenience, and designed to set forth in the public the solemnities of religious faith’.¹⁷³ Gladstone and Asquith enlisted the help of Ripon to induce Bourne to modify the procession so that the Host would not be carried or vestments worn, because of the questionable legality of these acts under an archaic statute, rather than because they feared a riot.¹⁷⁴ The pressure to avoid contravening what was commonly believed to be an obsolete provision of the 1829 Act was necessary after written protests had been made from the Protestant associations to the king. The continuance of the procession in its original form, with the support and protection of the British government and Metropolitan Police, would have proved embarrassing for the monarch given his constitutional opposition to transubstantiation. In the event, the Eucharistic Congress does not seem to have occasioned any serious public disturbance, even in Liverpool, where Walter Walsh attempted to whip a crowd into a frenzy against the whore of Babylon by describing in detail the vestments worn by Roman Catholic

¹⁷² Matthew, ‘Asquith, Herbert (1852–1928)’, ODNB; Kollar, ‘Bourne, Francis (1861–1935)’, ODNB.

¹⁷³ WDA, BO 1/52, Eucharistic Congress, Gladstone to Bourne (first letter of 10 September 1908).

¹⁷⁴ WDA, BO 1/52, Eucharistic Congress, Gladstone to Bourne (second letter of 10 September 1908), Herbert Asquith to Bourne (12 September 1908).

cardinals.¹⁷⁵ The potential for anti-Catholicism to form a focus for popular discontent remained a feature of Liverpool's public life after 1908, however, reflecting its strong history of sectarian division and the continuing provocation of Irish immigration.¹⁷⁶

Though Protestant protestors against Roman Catholicism did not riot, there were anti-Catholic speeches and sermons which focussed on the Eucharistic Congress reported in the national and local press. These were editorialised in such an unsympathetic tone that there can be no doubt the majority of the British public viewed their sentiments with something varying between ridicule and disgust. By 1908, anti-Catholic protests were portrayed as expressing highly marginalised opinions. Though the press printed accounts of anti-Catholic speeches and letters from leading members of Protestant societies, they neither supported them or shielded their readers from the more eccentric and unpalatable opinions of anti-Catholics. The Westminster Gazette reported that in Queen's Hall, Edinburgh, Jacob Primmer had denounced transubstantiation and said that he hoped 'the Lord could employ means of making [the procession] a fiasco by sending down rain' upon it. The Gazette printed, but made it clear it certainly did not endorse the pejorative use of, the term 'Wafer God' by H. Fowler, Secretary of the Protestant Alliance, one of its correspondents in the same issue.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, it

¹⁷⁵ Devlin, 'The Eucharistic Procession of 1908', 410.

¹⁷⁶ Sutherland shows that a local Roman Catholic procession ignited rioting in Liverpool in 1909, but not in 1908. Sutherland, 'Sectarianism and Evangelicalism in Birmingham and Liverpool 1850–2010', Protestant–Catholic Conflict from the Reformation to the Twenty-First Century, 132–165:148.

¹⁷⁷ WDA, AFA (1), Newspaper Clippings, Westminster Gazette (8 September 1908).

supported the Eucharistic Congress and its procession enthusiastically. This was seen as the free demonstration of the Roman Catholic religion in public, and the editor was 'glad to think that Roman Catholics felt that in so distinctively a non-Catholic country they can enjoy the fullest religious liberty.'¹⁷⁸

Fowler spent much of his time writing to newspapers to denounce this kind of denominational egalitarianism. In the Yorkshire Observer he acknowledged that the country now looked on Roman Catholicism with 'less disfavour ... than at any time since the Reformation', but he warned readers to beware that Roman Catholics still wanted to conquer England and that people had been killed for not worshipping its 'blasphemous ... flour-and-water God'.¹⁷⁹ This aggressive anti-Catholicism did not worry the priest of St Marie's, Sheffield. In the Sheffield Telegraph he dismissed those who objected to the Eucharistic Congress as

a noisy faction of whom no-one with any sense, not even genuine Protestants themselves, takes any notice. We trust the English people too well ... To say that the Imperial Protestant Federation represents 'millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects is', said the Dean, 'rubbish.' It is not to be forgotten that His Majesty has millions of loyal Catholic subjects.¹⁸⁰

This assertion of the social irrelevance of anti-Catholicism suggests a real confidence among members of the English Roman Catholic Church as to the

¹⁷⁸ WDA, AFA (1), Newspaper Clippings, 'Editorial', Westminster Gazette (7 September 1908).

¹⁷⁹ WDA, AFA (1), Newspaper Clippings, Yorkshire Observer (31 August 1908).

¹⁸⁰ WDA, AFA (1), Newspaper Clippings, Sheffield Telegraph (7 September 1908).

security of their position in the English public sphere. Toleration of Roman Catholicism was giving way to intolerance of anti-Catholicism.

Indeed, the Daily News argued that a commitment to pluralism was coming to define the boundaries of English public life. After the Pope had thanked the English for the welcome given to the Eucharistic Congress, the editor wrote that there was no need for such extraordinary expressions of gratitude: 'We ought to respect every sincere belief, not because we think the dogma itself credible or probable and a desirable element in the world's thought, but because we respect the attitude of believing'.¹⁸¹ The increasingly acknowledged legitimacy of religious diversity allowed non-Roman Catholics to argue for the associated benefits of greater Roman Catholic emancipation, claiming that a symbiotic relationship between Protestant church and Protestant state was no longer necessary to protect English society from domination by all they feared from the influence of Roman Catholicism in English public life. One curious reaction to the Eucharistic Congress came from The Jewish Chronicle, which recognised the growth of pluralism and embraced this, while signalling the discomfort with which many still viewed Roman Catholic beliefs and practices. It lamented that Roman Catholic doctrines were increasingly popular in England, but recognised that there had been a 'marked change in English public opinion' over the previous twenty-five years,

accounted for by a larger religious toleration and a broader bearing toward beliefs from which the Englishman differs. It is claimed that

¹⁸¹ WDA, AFA (1), Newspaper Clippings, The Daily News (8 September 1908).

the Eucharistic Congress is a triumph not for Roman Catholicism,
but for British toleration (for which, as Jews, we rejoice).¹⁸²

Anti-Catholicism was increasingly seen as an obsolete attempt to limit religious freedom within the English public sphere, rather than as expressing a collective identity which guaranteed the nation's liberty from foreign domination. Political Protestantism was constrained by the historical nature of its antipathy to the Roman Catholic Church while, ironically, Roman Catholics continued to gain confidence and wider social acceptance from the assertion of the historic nature of their faith. Roman Catholics continued to claim that their faith's major strength was the possession of a strong historical foundation for its modern identity. While anti-Catholics were trapped *in* the past, Roman Catholics were flourishing in continuity with it. The further formation of this popularly accepted historical consciousness was an important aim of the Eucharistic Congress' lecture programme. In Bourne's pastoral letter on the opening of the Congress, he reflected that the Eucharist was a key symbol of the Church's continuity of doctrine, in contrast to the hollow historicity of the Church of England. Meditating on the Eucharist,

these thoughts carry us back through that long period of a thousand years in which this Belief was the very heart of Christianity of our country ... Every one of our old Churches, cold and empty as they now appear in our eyes, testifies by its forlorn condition to the worship which once gave it life ... [the Eucharist has been] the long

¹⁸² WDA, AFA (1), Newspaper Clippings, The Jewish Chronicle (11 September 1908).

continued note of our religious history, ever since the day when

Augustine brought us the Christianity of Rome.¹⁸³

Bourne also reflected on the English Mission, a potentially controversial aspect of the history of Roman Catholicism in England which his predecessors had avoided incorporating into their teleological accounts of English Roman Catholicism. Bourne described the English Mission as having been established 'to preserve the Mass in England' and continue to testify to the ancient beliefs of the English Church after the Reformation.¹⁸⁴

The Congress featured a number of plenary sermons, services, and thirty-five 'sectional meetings', of which twenty were of a strictly historical character. The remainder focused on diverse subjects such as the ordering of liturgies for the Mass, the theology of the Eucharist, and exhortations to Eucharistic adoration.¹⁸⁵ The first of these historical meetings, since it opened the Eucharistic Congress, received the majority of press attention, and its content was reported in great detail by The Times. This was a paper by Gasquet on 'The Holy Eucharist in Pre-Reformation times'. It was immediately followed by 'The Mass and the Reformation' by Moyes, which also received substantial press attention.¹⁸⁶ Gasquet emphasised the

¹⁸³ WDA, A0508, 1987 Synod on the Laity, Bourne, Pastoral Letter on the Eucharistic Congress (B&O: 1908) 3-4, 6.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 4.

¹⁸⁵ Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress Held at Westminster from 9th to 13th September 1908 (Sands: 1909) xvii-xxii.

¹⁸⁶ Francis Gasquet, 'The Eucharist in Pre-Reformation Times', Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress, 20-33; Moyes, 'The Mass and the Reformation', Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress, 34-50.

continuous relationship and doctrinal unity which the Church in England had shared with Rome even before the coming of St Augustine, so that 'in the gloom and obscurity of the ages prior to the conversion of their Saxon forefathers, they might discern in regard to the most holy Eucharist, the full faith of the Holy Roman Church of to-day.' Gasquet denied that the primitive Church in England had believed any Eucharistic doctrine other than transubstantiation. Though some historical writers had tried to make the Anglo-Saxon Church seem proto-Protestant,

[w]hat the faith and teaching of the Saxon Church was as to the Blessed Sacrament, that no less clearly was the belief of their ancestors in the centuries which followed ... [T]o the middle of the sixteenth century, the Eucharist doctrine of Catholic England was as full and as developed as they had it to-day.¹⁸⁷

Moyes lamented that men influenced by German heresies had acted against this pre-Reformation consensus of English religion, and had thereby gained the power to fracture a European unity of faith which had previously been expressed in England's devotion to the Holy See and the Eucharist.¹⁸⁸

Moyes claimed that this had created a divisive Church of England where before there had been a Church which embraced the strength of universal and local beliefs. He emphasised that because of 'the hatred of the Mass among the English Reformers', a 'war of extermination' against the sacraments of the Church was carried out, leading to attacks on church

¹⁸⁷ 'The Eucharistic Congress: The Eucharist before the Reformation', The Times 38749 (11 September 1908) 9.

¹⁸⁸ Moyes, 'The Mass and the Reformation', 41-44.

property and Roman Catholic believers.¹⁸⁹ Only now, after three hundred and fifty years of repression,

[t]he natural sense of goodness and fair play, of justice and liberty inherent in the English people has gradually righted itself ... Under the British flag wherever it waves throughout the world, is found a freedom for the Catholic Church and for the Mass, which is second to none in Christendom.¹⁹⁰

However, the doctrine of the real presence that the Eucharistic Congress proclaimed under the presidency of Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli (1836–1930) was, in 1908, still a belief which British monarchs were obliged to anathematise in parliament following their accession to the throne as ‘superstitious and idolatrous’. This was remarked on at the Eucharistic Congress, where Viscount Llandaff (1826–1913), a former Home Secretary, gave a speech calling for the abandonment of this ‘outrageous formula’.¹⁹¹ In 1910 the accession declaration was indeed altered to a formula which was far less offensive to the king’s Roman Catholic subjects, just before George V was due to give the declaration.¹⁹² For hundreds of years, transubstantiation and papal authority had been seen as incompatible with the public life of the realm, but in the 1908 Eucharistic Congress both were

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. 44–48:44, 47.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. 48.

¹⁹¹ Henry Matthews, ‘The Royal Declaration’, Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress, 50–58:51; A. Lentin, ‘Matthews, Henry (1826–1913)’, ODNB.

¹⁹² Wolffe, ‘Protestantism, Monarchy and the Defence of Christian Britain, 1837–2005’, Secularisation in the European World, eds Brown and Michael Snape (Ashgate: Farnham, 2010) 57–74:63–64.

declared openly without inspiring a popular anti-Catholic reaction. Minority anti-Catholic reactions against the Eucharistic Congress instead excited a strong demonstration of support for the right of Roman Catholics to practice their faith openly and publicise it widely. The growing public acceptance of Roman Catholicism's right to present its teachings within the English public sphere continued to erode the confessional state, and marginalise anti-Catholic culture. The increasing pluralisation of English society relied on the acceptance of the historical credentials of the English Roman Catholic Church to justify the contemporary confidence of Roman Catholicism in the English public sphere.

Conclusion

The three case studies in chapter I demonstrate the development of Roman Catholic historical consciousness across the entire time-frame of this thesis. The chapter begins with an exploration of how Newman's reconciliation of historical fact with contemporary Roman Catholic theology, using a theory of development, later made it possible for loyal Roman Catholics to engage in historical research. It ends with a study of how the attacks of marginalised Protestants on the Eucharistic Congress revealed hints of the development of a pluralist ethic underpinning the English public sphere. The choice of these varied and diachronic case studies emphasises the fact that the cultural emancipation of English Roman Catholics was a gradual and consistent process which operated across many levels of society, and which can be observed in a variety of different types of sources. The change in the nature of English national identity which this thesis describes was not only

pushed forward by the publication of historical monographs providing Roman Catholics with an intellectual justification for their growing confidence, of the kind explored in chapter II. It did not only rely on the crises in the relationship between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and in the life of the nation, analysed in chapters III and IV. Roman Catholic cultural emancipation was also given momentum by everyday events such as the establishment of a local religious confraternity or a church choir deciding to sing an early Tudor anthem. In its exploration of a wide range of expressions of the historical consistency of the Roman Catholic Church, this chapter shows that the articulation of a distinctive Roman Catholic historical narrative was not confined to a narrow intellectual sphere.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL EMANCIPATION OF ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICISM

This thesis contextualises the changing position of English Roman Catholicism in the late nineteenth-century, describing, with distinctive references to academic and popular historical texts, how the Church transcended the social stigma which had been created by an anti-Catholic teleology of English history, and entered much more fully into the English public sphere. In the following chapter, it demonstrates how a bold use of historiographical analysis can relate the intellectual development and writings of an individual historian to that process of broad cultural change. It argues that the way in which Roman Catholic historians, led by Gasquet, challenged the older Protestant historical narratives underpinned the cultural emancipation of English Roman Catholics. Gasquet's contribution to changing the position of the Roman Catholic Church in England has been underrated because of an understandable awareness of his inadequacies as a historian. However, this chapter demonstrates how, despite these faults, his work encouraged historical ways of thinking about religion and improved the intellectual and cultural confidence of Roman Catholics within English society. It argues that Gasquet's work was revolutionary in its use of archival sources to champion the positive impact of the medieval Church on English society, and in establishing that as a 'scientific' fact in the popular historical consciousness.

The Gasquets were, by extraction, a French family who fled to England on 18 December 1793, escaping from the republican forces approaching Toulon on the last British ships to leave its harbour.¹⁹³ Joseph Raymond Gasquet had been Vice-Admiral of Toulon during the British occupation of the town, and could hardly have remained to greet its new masters. After reaching England, his sons, Jean Joseph Françoise Gasquet and Raymond Bonaventure Gasquet, trained as surgeons before joining the Royal Navy in that capacity.¹⁹⁴ They served in the Napoleonic wars.¹⁹⁵ Some of their cousins served in the French forces during the same conflict.¹⁹⁶ After the wars, the Gasquets remained in their adoptive homeland, joining the Roman Catholic community of Somers Town, London.¹⁹⁷ On 13 April 1836 Raymond, by then a surgeon and general practitioner working around

¹⁹³ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 1; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 19.

¹⁹⁴ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 6; DA, GP, 885 Family Papers, Family Tree, Joseph Gasquet's Lecture Attendance Certificate, Raymond Gasquet's Membership Certificate from the Royal College of Surgeons, Joseph Gasquet's Accreditation to HMSs Amethyst, Albacore and Glory; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 20.

¹⁹⁵ DA, GP, 885 Family Papers, Raymond Gasquet's Certificate of Naturalisation.

¹⁹⁶ DA, GP, 885 Family Papers, Jean Louis Gasquet's Decorations; DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 19; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 21.

¹⁹⁷ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 6. On the French diaspora in England, see Bellenger, The French Exiled Clergy (DA: Stratton-on-the-Fosse, 1986); Wheeler, The Old Enemies, 82–85.

Euston, married Mary Apollonia Kay, a woman of Yorkshire extraction.¹⁹⁸

On 5 October 1846 she gave birth to the fifth of their six children, who was baptised as Francis Neil, presumably in honour of St Francis of Assisi, but who was afterwards always known as Frank.¹⁹⁹

At the time of Gasquet's birth his parents lived in Euston, but after Raymond's death in 1856 Mary Gasquet and her younger children moved to Bayswater.²⁰⁰ She continued to live in the area until her death in 1893.²⁰¹ The number of Roman Catholics living in London steadily increased throughout Gasquet's youth, largely as a result of Irish immigration; new houses were built in Bayswater for these migrants, and the life of the Church there was a high priority for the Roman Catholic bishop responsible for London, who soon after Gasquet's birth became Archbishop of Westminster.²⁰² Wiseman, the first Archbishop, therefore sent a recent

¹⁹⁸ Her middle name may have been spelt Appolonia. Parish of St Pancras Marriage Register 1836, 425, <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>.

¹⁹⁹ St Francis' feast day is 4 October. DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 1; England and Wales Birth Index 1837–1915, <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 19.

²⁰⁰ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 22; DA, GP, 885 Family Papers, Raymond Gasquet's Death Certificate; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 23.

²⁰¹ Parish of Kensington Census Register 1891, 42, 26, 30, 55, <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>; Index of Wills and Administrations, National Probate Calendar for England and Wales 1858–1966, 1894, 157, <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>.

²⁰² Gilley, 'Papists, Protestants and the Irish in London, 1835–70', Popular Belief and Practice, SCH 8, ed. G.J. Cummings and Derek Baker (CUP: Cambridge, 1972) 259–266; 262–265; Lynn Hollen Lees, Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London (MUP: Manchester, 1979) 69–71; Alan McClelland, 'The Formative Years', 1–6.

convert, Manning, to take charge of the mission of St Mary of the Angels, Bayswater, in 1857.²⁰³ Manning and his Oblates of St Charles Borromeo expanded the scope of the mission. During his tenure as parish priest they re-built the original church as well as founding four new parishes, a number of convents, schools, and a reformatory. The mission's growth was so rapid, and it attracted so many converts, that a North Kensington Protestant League was created to counter its influence. The devotion of the oblates to their saintly patron and their earthly superior meant that Gasquet grew up in an atmosphere which linked the expansion of the Roman Catholic community with pastoral and intellectual labour, and that was nurtured by an ultramontane devotion.²⁰⁴

As a child, Gasquet spent a lot of time in the local presbytery. He grew to admire Manning deeply, and as an adolescent his ambition was to join the Oblates. He loved putting on a cassock and helping with the menial work of the community.²⁰⁵ In return, Manning seems to have been fond of the young Gasquet. He wrote him a warm note to thank him for his congratulations and prayers following Manning's appointment as the second Archbishop of Westminster in 1865.²⁰⁶ Manning was close to other members of the

²⁰³ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 23; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 24.

²⁰⁴ Mark Langham, A Short History and a Tour of St Mary of the Angels, Bayswater (PP: undated) 1–2.

²⁰⁵ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Monte Genario (23 September 1917) 1v–2v.

²⁰⁶ DA, GP, 887 Family Papers & Personal History, Henry Manning to Francis Gasquet (1865).

Gasquet family too: Frank's brother Joseph Raymond formed a close friendship with Manning after he married Mary, the daughter of Charles Manning (1799–1880), the Cardinal's brother.²⁰⁷ Joseph Raymond Gasquet became a physician like his father, and acted as Manning's personal physician, eventually becoming one of his more hagiographical biographers.²⁰⁸

Gasquet's early desire to enter Manning's oblate community was diverted into monastic channels when, in September 1862, at the age of fifteen, he was sent to school at Downside, near Bath.²⁰⁹ Though reluctant to go away to school, Gasquet found himself drawn to the Benedictine monks of St Gregory's, Downside, who ran the school, and he began to think of entering the novitiate after he had finished his education. Roger Vaughan, the Prior of another monastery in the same congregation, St Michael and All Angels, Belmont, came to lead a Lenten retreat for the school, and following a number of long talks with him Gasquet began to believe he might have a vocation to the monastic life.²¹⁰ Vaughan's letters were a constant encouragement to Gasquet in the six months after he had left school, when

²⁰⁷ J.R. Gasquet, Studies Contributed to the 'Dublin Review' by the late Dr J.R. Gasquet, ed. H.N. Birt (Art and Book Company: 1904) xiii; 'Charles John Manning', *Legacies of British Slave Ownership*, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs>.

²⁰⁸ This was in response to Edmund Purcell's biography of Manning. J.R. Gasquet, Cardinal Manning (A Biography) (CTS: 1895); Gilley, 'New Light on an Old Scandal: Purcell's Life of Cardinal Manning', Opening the Scrolls, ed. Bellenger (DA: Stratton-on-the-Fosse, 1987) 166–198.

²⁰⁹ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Monte Genario (23 September 1917) 2v; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 26.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* 28.

the temptation of a vivacious life in London caused him to question its reality.²¹¹ Vaughan felt that Gasquet's partygoing, coupled with a fear of the harshness of the novitiate, was endangering his vocation, and encouraged him to come to Belmont and spend a few months with the juniors there, in order to see whether he would take to the life. After about six months of this liminal existence, Gasquet applied to join the English Benedictine Congregation and received the habit on Michaelmas 1866.²¹² He made his simple profession on 28 October 1869.²¹³ Writing of this experience in his spiritual autobiography, *Religio Religiosi*, Gasquet located his attraction to the religious life in the way his vows bound him to a path of prayer leading toward a more intimate communion with God.²¹⁴

Following his completion of the common English Benedictine Congregation novitiate at Belmont between 1866 and 1870, Gasquet, who had taken Aidan as his name in religion, returned to St Gregory's as a monk and to Downside school as a teacher.²¹⁵ He taught history and mathematics, and also worked on the cataloguing of the monastic library. On 20 December

²¹¹ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 33; DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Belmont+Downside 1870–1873, 3; DA, GP, 887 Family Papers & Personal History, Prior Gasquet's Resignation, Roger Vaughan to Gasquet (21 November 1865), Vaughan to Gasquet (12 January 1866).

²¹² DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 34; Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet*, 29.

²¹³ DA, GP, 887 Family Papers & Personal History, Downside Monk+Priest, Simple Profession Certificate.

²¹⁴ Gasquet, *Religio Religiosi* (Stanbrook Abbey: Worcester, 1916) 54–55, 68, 82–84.

²¹⁵ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 36; Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet*, 29.

1873 he was ordained deacon, and on 19 December 1874 he was ordained priest; in 1877 he was made Prefect of Studies and Professor of Theology.²¹⁶ In 1878 he was elected as Prior of St Gregory's.²¹⁷ This made him the superior of the monastery, at that time home to about 18 monks, and headmaster of the school, which housed 96 students.²¹⁸ As a Roman Catholic public school and an imposing Abbey, Downside owes a great deal of its modern ethos to Gasquet. Over his seven years as Prior he expanded the school; he also erected a cloister and began the building of the current Abbey church. This reflected his aspiration to transform Downside into a new Glastonbury. The completion of building work in 1914 was marked by the planting of a Glastonbury thorn in the middle of the monastic garth: a tangible link between the old abbey's legendary foundation by Joseph of Arimathea and Downside.²¹⁹ He also co-founded the Downside Review as a scholarly outlet for the community.²²⁰ The Downside Review published plans for the development of the monastery and school alongside lives of the Gregorian martyrs and old boys. Gasquet's early contributions included

²¹⁶ DA, GP, 887 Family Papers & Personal History, Downside Monk+Priest, Diaconal Ordination Certificate, Priestly Ordination Certificate; DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 36–37; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 30.

²¹⁷ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 37; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 30.

²¹⁸ Parish of Midsomer Norton Census Register 1881, 2428, 62, 8–12, <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>.

²¹⁹ Bellenger, 'The English Benedictines', 306, 315; Marion Bowman, 'Procession and Possession in Glastonbury: Continuity, Change and the Manipulation of Tradition', Folklore 115.3 (2004) 273–285; Bellenger, ed., Downside Abbey.

²²⁰ Catherine Merrell, 'The Late Victorian Roman Catholic Periodical Press and Attitudes to the "Problem of the Poor"', Unpublished De Montfort PhD, 2001, 14.

biographies and articles on the monastic buildings, and Gilbert Dolan (1853–1914) contributed an extended series on recent Benedictine history.²²¹

Recovering the Benedictine Scholarly Tradition (1880)

Gasquet believed the Benedictine mission was to interpret the historic traditions of the Church in their interaction with the conditions of the modern world. Gasquet gave a consciousness of the evocative power and social utility of the Roman Catholic Church's historical character to the rest of the Roman Catholic Church in England, and he was eventually able to incorporate this into popular understandings of the national past. In 1880 he published the booklet, A Sketch of the Life and Mission of St Benedict, which claimed to represent a growing consensus of opinion working to remove the negative associations colouring historical accounts of English monasticism:²²²

Many attempts have been made to vilify the memory of the Monks of old ... But knowledge ... show[s] that there is little against them, but fidelity to the truth of a thousand years; and many signs point to a growing belief, that in the overthrow of the Monastic body,

²²¹ The *Succisa Virescit* series was attributed to Gilbert Dolan by Cuthbert Butler in Benedictine Monachism (Longmans: 1919) 367. DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 38.

²²² DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 37; Gasquet ('a Monk of St Gregory's Priory, Downside'), A Sketch of the Life and Mission of St. Benedict (St Gregory's: Stratford-Upon-Avon, 1880).

England destroyed a time honoured institution, and one to which the nation in a thousand ways is indebted.²²³

Gasquet did not ground the assertion that he represented contemporary historical opinion by giving the details of those historians who shared his point of view. He was bolstering his idiosyncratic interpretation of the benefits of the medieval monasteries to England with an appeal to a non-existent historiographical consensus.

The largest section of The Life and Mission of St Benedict dealt with 'The Apostolate of St Benedict', and this consisted of an annal describing the Benedictine conversion of England in the fifth-century and the subsequent sustaining presence of the Order within the Church there. Gasquet was in fact recovering an English chronicling tradition dating back to Bede, to whom he affectionately referred.²²⁴ In 1880 there was no popularly or academically influential Roman Catholic historiography in England. John Lingard was largely ignored by his contemporaries, despite the impressive scholarly standards to which he aspired, and William Cobbett, who though not a Roman Catholic, attacked the predominant whiggish view of the Reformation, was far from respectable.²²⁵ At the time The Life and Mission of St Benedict was published, the popular English historical consciousness was dominated by J.A. Froude's (1818–1894) enthusiastic reception of the monarchical Reformation and its dissolution of the religious houses.²²⁶

²²³ Ibid. 47–48.

²²⁴ Ibid. 29–52, 35.

²²⁵ Donald Shea, The English Ranke: John Lingard (NY Humanities Press: NY, 1969); Bentley, Modernizing England's Past, 56; Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 53–74.

²²⁶ A.F. Pollard, 'Froude, James (1818–1894)', rev. William Thomas, ODNB.

When Gasquet began to write, the Tudor historian for the wide reading public was Froude, and Froude was an eloquent, powerful and radically unfair critic of the traditional religion of the Middle Ages. Moreover, the quantity of fierce and irrational prejudice against all Catholic institutions, and against monasticism in particular, was still very great.²²⁷

Froude supported the providential privilege anti-Catholics derived from their sense of the national past. His historical writing was characterised by his affection for progress and Protestant religious moderation.²²⁸ He claimed that the monasteries had once been full of virtue, but '[t]he abbeys, as Henry's visitors found them, were as little like what they once had been as a living man in the pride of his growth is like the corpse which the earth makes haste to cover'. Froude thought the majority of late medieval monks 'vicious and sensual' and that where a few monks still attempted to live in accordance with the rule they were 'in the midst of Sodom'.²²⁹ In addition to attacking the idea that the Tudor Reformation had been provoked by the necessity of reforming the morals of the Church, Gasquet's emphasis on the importance of the mission of St Augustine to the nation's origins brought

²²⁷ David Knowles, 'Cardinal Gasquet as a Historian', The Historian and Character (CUP: Cambridge, 1963) 240–263:250.

²²⁸ Burrow, A Liberal Descent, 242–246; Garnett, 'Protestant Histories: James Anthony Froude, Partisanship and National Identity', Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain, eds Peter Ghosh and Lawrence Goldman (OUP: Oxford, 2006) 171–191:171–173, 176–180, 182; Hesketh, 'Diagnosing Froude's Disease: Boundary Work and the Discipline of History in Late-Victorian Britain', History and Theory 47.3 (2008) 373–395.

²²⁹ J.A. Froude, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries', Short Studies on Great Subjects (Charles Scribner: NY, 1868) 324–357:337, 338, 346.

him into conflict with the theory that English society had evolved from Teutonic tribal councils in the forests of Germany. Teutonism, chiefly advocated by William Stubbs (1825–1901, later Bishop of Oxford) allowed English historians to develop a sense of the continuity of the national past while maintaining their antagonism toward the Roman Catholic Church.²³⁰ This meant that Gasquet was articulating a highly revisionist historiography as early as The Life and Mission of St Benedict.

This foreshadowed many of the themes which motivated his mature work. First, he emphasised the continuity of the contribution the Benedictines had made to the English nation. Gasquet claimed that Augustine and his successors had laid the foundations of a Roman Catholic religious settlement that defined the nation–state. '[N]owhere did the Order so intimately link itself with people and institutions, secular as well as religious, as it did [in] England. To the Benedictines England owes its Christianity'.²³¹ Gasquet emphasised the constant internal pressure to reform the monastic ideal so that it would be able to combat the abuses of power by kings and rich lords; this guardianship of charitable civil order underpinned the continuing influence of the Benedictines long after many historians supposed they had lost their vitality.²³² Discussing the Henrician dissolution of the monasteries, Gasquet therefore cleared the monks of any wrongdoing that might have justified the confiscation of abbeys which were still 'useful

²³⁰ Burrow, A Liberal Descent, 101–102, 108–125; Bentley, Modernizing England's Past, 26–28; Mandler, The English National Character, 86–105; J. Campbell, 'Stubbs, William (1825–1901)', ODNB.

²³¹ Gasquet, The Life and Mission of St. Benedict, 29–30.

²³² *Ibid.* 23, 24–25.

to the nation'.²³³ He traced the continuous mission of the Benedictines to the English people through 'the evil days of Henry VIII' to show how

Providence had preserved to our days the order that was so closely bound up with the England of the past. ... ST BENEDICT ... has ... handed down the rights and privileges of the ancient English Benedictines, to his sons of the present congregation.²³⁴

The Life and Mission of St Benedict reveals Gasquet's familial and ideological loyalty to the Benedictines. The idea that the monks were the defining factor in the historic formation of the English nation underpinned his future historical works which, designed to influence public opinion outside the English Roman Catholic community, added the characteristic features of 'modernist' historical writing to project an authority based on primary source research.²³⁵

In July 1885 Gasquet resigned as Prior of St Gregory's due to sickness.²³⁶ Worn out and with a dangerously weakened heart, he at first thought this would be his final retirement.²³⁷ He moved to his mother's house in Bayswater to be nursed through his last days. However, he soon recovered some of his capacity for monastic labour, though his health was delicate for the rest of his life: he also suffered from gout and diabetes.²³⁸ Cardinal

²³³ Ibid. 47.

²³⁴ Ibid. 47, 48–49. Emphasis in original.

²³⁵ Bentley, Modernizing England's Past, 11–13.

²³⁶ DA, GP, 887 Family Papers & Personal History, Prior Gasquet's Resignation.

²³⁷ Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 32–33.

²³⁸ Over the course of his life, Gasquet suffered from gout, deafness, a weak heart and diabetes. DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Edmund Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (4

Manning suggested that he should pursue historical studies, and Gasquet began regular reading at the British Museum and the Public Record Office.²³⁹ This work was conceived as in keeping with the opening of the Vatican archives in 1879 and Leo XIII's letter on historical studies of 1883, which advocated primary source-based historical work as a service to the Church.²⁴⁰ Leo's letter on historical studies had been poorly received in England, and The Times saw the Pope as denouncing all forms of inquiry except ultramontane history.²⁴¹ Consequently, Manning had great difficulty finding Englishmen to follow the Pope's command to carry out historical research using archival sources.²⁴² He was delighted to tell Leo that Gasquet was to take up historical work in this spirit.²⁴³

Manning exercised considerable patronage to ensure Gasquet's dedication to this scholarly endeavour. He intervened to prevent Anselm O'Gorman (1833–1901), Abbot-President of the English Benedictine Congregation, sending Gasquet to become chaplain to the Smythe family at Acton Burnall, by obtaining a letter from Leo approving of his research and instructing him

June 1896), Gasquet to Bishop (29 March 1898), Gasquet to Bishop (27 April 1898), Gasquet to Bishop (14 November 1906), Gasquet to Bishop (23 October 1910).

²³⁹ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 49; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 33.

²⁴⁰ Chadwick, Catholicism and History: the Opening of the Vatican Archives (CUP: Cambridge, 1978) 93–109; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 34.

²⁴¹ 'Pope Pius IX was rumoured ...', The Times 30911 (29 August 1883) 7; Chadwick, Catholicism and History, 103.

²⁴² *Ibid.* 105.

²⁴³ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 52; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 35.

to continue in it.²⁴⁴ Manning's patronage gave Gasquet the freedom to examine the allegations of immorality that had been used to justify the dissolution of the monasteries, even though Manning feared damaging the reputation of the contemporary Roman Catholic Church by associating it with the attacks that had been made on the pre-Reformation monks.²⁴⁵

Doing Justice to the Memory of the Monastic Order in England (1888)

Making an Argument

A considerable section of this chapter is devoted to Gasquet's first and most influential monograph, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, which comprehensively illustrates most of Gasquet's motives, strengths and weaknesses in writing history.²⁴⁶ This was a two volume monograph, composed between 1886 and 1888 and first published in 1887 and 1888.²⁴⁷ It developed the understanding of the beneficial role of monastic institutions in the life of the nation Gasquet outlined in the Life and Mission of St Benedict, expanding it into a coherent defence of the late medieval Church and offering a revolutionary reinterpretation of early English Reformation

²⁴⁴ DA, GP, 962+3353 Diaries and Autobiography, Autobiography, 52; Bellenger, 'The English Benedictines', 308; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 35.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. 35.

²⁴⁶ All references are to this edition unless otherwise stated. Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, 2 vols (JH: 1888).

²⁴⁷ The preface was dated 27 October 1887, and the first volume was printed in 1888. Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, xii; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 35–36.

history. Henry VIII and the English Monasteries argued that the Reformation had been driven by the lust of the king and the greed of his dishonest servants, and that no sufficient provocation in immorality had existed to justify the dissolution of the monasteries. Gasquet argued they had been destroyed because they represented a catholic religion that safeguarded the good of the commonwealth against the tyrannies of monarchical power. His re-interpretation of the Henrician Reformation vindicated the medieval Church and its modern Roman Catholic successor, while attacking the reformers and their heirs as dishonest men perpetuating a false historical tradition. The real originality of Henry VIII and The English Monasteries came from Gasquet's stated determination to use archival documents, displayed with a fashionably 'scientific' impartiality, to overturn a historical tradition he claimed had libelled the monastic centres of the pre-Reformation Church.

Gasquet asserted the 'scientific' credentials of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries by distinguishing his approach, which he claimed was based on the collection and representation of primary sources, from other historians. He distanced himself from Froude, who he accused of being emblematic of a Protestant false historical tradition and who he saw exercising a strong hold over the popular historical consciousness. He also attacked J.R. Green (1837–1883), Librarian of Lambeth Palace.²⁴⁸ Denouncing Froude for his lack of serious historical intent established Gasquet as the upholder of truthfulness in primary source research. He referred to Froude's books as

²⁴⁸ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 289–290; Anthony Brundage, 'Green, John (1837–1883)', ODNB.

'historical romances', and accused him of being a mere fantasist with a 'habitual disregard of accuracy even in small matters': 'That Mr. Froude has founded this statement on anything but his own imagination does not appear in his pages'.²⁴⁹ In an extended denunciation of Froude's view of the Abbot of Wigmore, he accused Froude of hysteria; 'go[ing] into raptures' and making absurd 'insinuations'.²⁵⁰ This description of Froude's behaviour was opposed to the judicial standpoint Gasquet claimed for himself. By accusing Froude of emotionalism, Gasquet was perpetuating the attack E.A. Freeman (1823–1892) had made on 'Froudacity', and this further associated Henry VIII and the English Monasteries with the high standards of the new historical 'science'.²⁵¹ Gasquet justified his account of the English Reformation, and emphasised its revisionist nature, by claiming that Protestant historians had invented or warped their sources.

In contrast, in the preface to Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, Gasquet expressed his intention to allow documentary evidence alone to define his text, arguing:

the facts speak strongly enough for themselves, and I have endeavoured to add as little as possible of my own to the story they tell. All I desire is that my readers should judge from the letters, documents and opinions, which will be found in the following pages, whether bare justice has hitherto been done to the memory of the

²⁴⁹ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 166, 195, 290.

²⁵⁰ Ibid. 365–368.

²⁵¹ Andrew Fish, 'The Reputation of James Anthony Froude', Pacific Historical Review 1.2 (1932) 179–192; 185–189; Hesketh, 'Diagnosing Froude's Disease'; Frank Barlow, 'Freeman, Edward (1823–1892)', ODNB.

monastic order in England.²⁵²

Gasquet made references to primary sources as he had encountered them in archives, usually highlighting their discovery at the Public Record Office. In the revised edition of 1906, he wrote that since the first edition he had discovered more evidence that small monasteries had been favourably examined before 1536:

I was fortunate enough to discover several more reports of these commissioners in the Record Office. As they had been placed wrongly among the Chantry Certificates they had escaped ... notice altogether. It is sufficient here to say that they entirely bear out ... the uniformly good character that is given to the religious in the houses visited.²⁵³

Throughout the text, Gasquet identified himself and his readers with the process of discovering and objectively assessing evidence, to give the impression that his account of the dissolution of the monasteries was based on newly uncovered documents, brought to light by his exceptionally thorough exploration of archives.

Henry VIII and the English Monasteries is full of quotations from these manuscripts, demonstrating the closeness of the monograph to its sources. In order to suggest the very shape of the monograph was defined by archival discoveries, the quotations featured in the main text were very long, sometimes running to several pages. Gasquet included two and a half pages of quotations, spanning text and footnotes, on 'William Moor, the blind

²⁵² Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, xi.

²⁵³ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (GB: 1906) 124.

harper' who had travelled between abbots during their imprisonment, collecting messages for the Pope. The main quotation is mostly a lament that Moor was blind and a traitor to his king: it adds nothing to the reader's understanding of his actions, or the imprisonment of the abbots, supposedly the subject of the chapter.²⁵⁴ When quotations Gasquet had gathered did not progress his argument at all, he slipped them into lengthy, semi-irrelevant, footnotes: he included the convent accounts of Limbroke, Hertfordshire, in one footnote running over two pages. These supposedly illustrated the high administration fees for collecting a monastic pension, but since the fees were not explained, added meaningless detail rather than illustrating Gasquet's argument.²⁵⁵ In the appendices to the second volume of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, Gasquet gave examples of more documents, apparently in their entirety, to demonstrate that he had been working with archival material.²⁵⁶ These are far from isolated examples of the way Gasquet displayed his accumulation of vast quantities of primary source evidence. Their unfiltered form dominated the narrative of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, and gave the intentional impression that Gasquet's work was a simple reflection of a hitherto uncovered corpus of archival evidence in favour of the monasteries. However, examining Gasquet's footnotes (though these are imprecise) makes it obvious that many of the documents he referred to were already featured in the Calendar of State Papers or easily available, and already catalogued, at the British

²⁵⁴ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.2, 364–366.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 464–465.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 531–532, 536–541.

Museum.²⁵⁷ The accounts of Limbroke were from BM Add MS 11041, and the story of William Moor later featured in the Domestic State Papers. It is likely Gasquet became aware of the account before the publication of the relevant volume through his friendship with James Gairdner (1828–1912), their editor.²⁵⁸ Though Gasquet did discover some new documents, making use of rolls in the Public Record Office, he overstated the extent his account drew on previously untouched archival material.²⁵⁹

It does not seem Gasquet developed a methodical approach to archival research: the chaotic state of his research notes certainly suggests haphazard habits of thought.²⁶⁰ Though rhetorically invested in ‘scientific’ historical scholarship, he was uninterested in the epistemological basis for the empiricism that increasingly dominated the English historical profession at the end of the nineteenth-century.²⁶¹ In the chapter ‘Editing and Reviewing’ in England under the Old Religion, Gasquet praised the ‘wonderful accuracy of German scholarship’, but attributed its excellence simply to ‘the individual determination to spare no pains, and to account no trouble too great to obtain a satisfactory result’.²⁶² Gasquet believed that the desire to be a good historian was sufficient to make one. In his preparation notes for a

²⁵⁷ Knowles, ‘Cardinal Gasquet as a Historian’, 255.

²⁵⁸ Gairdner, James, and Brodie, R.H., eds, Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, August–December 1539, vol.14.2 (HMSO: 1895) 216–217; David Loades, ‘Gairdner, James (1828–1912)’, ODNB.

²⁵⁹ Gasquet to Bishop (8 March 1888) in Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 145.

²⁶⁰ Knowles, ‘Cardinal Gasquet as a Historian’, 255–256.

²⁶¹ Goldstein, ‘History at Oxford and Cambridge’, 141–153.

²⁶² Gasquet, England Under the Old Religion (GB: 1912) 327–345:332.

lecture on 'The Discipline of History' at Oscott College in 1899, he advocated a naïve approach to historical scholarship, and distinguished it from the confessional character of other academic disciplines. To Gasquet, history was a process of factual discovery, whereas theology was based on ideological speculation.²⁶³ In his preparation notes for another lecture, at St Michael's, Belmont, in 1900, he reflected on this straightforward approach to historical method. He told his audience that the historian's function as the representative of primary sources would allow them to 'make the truth known in its purity'. A simple habit of mind was all he believed necessary to access and convey historical truth. The rejection of an interpretative process would serve the Roman Catholic historian well: 'History, when studied in its authentic sources with a mind free from passion + prejudice spontaneously becomes the most splendid apology of the Ch[urch] + the Papacy'.²⁶⁴

He had little sense of the importance German universities placed on research seminars or thinking about the position and potential bias of the historian.²⁶⁵

Apart from papers concerning Gasquet's disingenuous editing of Lord

²⁶³ DA, GP, 891 Rough Notes and Drafts, Notes for Lecture at Oscott College, 16 December 1899.

²⁶⁴ DA, GP, 891 Rough Notes and Drafts, Notes for Lecture at Belmont, 22 February 1900.

²⁶⁵ G.P. Gooch, 'Ranke's Critics and Pupils', History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century (Longmans: 1961) 98–121:107–108; Iggers, Historiography in the Twentieth Century, 24–28; Iggers, 'The Intellectual Foundations of Nineteenth Century 'Scientific' History: the German Model', The Oxford History of Historical Writing, 41–58:42–48, 54–57; Gabriele Lingelbach, 'The Institution and Professionalization of History in Europe and the United States', The Oxford History of Historical Writing, 78–96:79–81.

Acton's letters, the Gasquet papers at Downside Abbey show no positive interest in the German historical schools. Gasquet did not refer to any German historians or their leading English disciples in detail in Henry VIII and the English Monasteries. He used a brief quotation from Leopold von Ranke's (1795–1886) History of England in the text, showing Ranke believed the elimination of the English monasteries had been necessary for the monarchical Reformation, because the monks' support for the unity of Latin Christianity challenged Henry VIII's royal supremacy.²⁶⁶ However, this singular reference does not indicate Gasquet had engaged with Ranke's philosophy of history; indeed Gasquet's work was incompatible with the Protestant teleology that drove Ranke's work to claim that the state's power over the Church was Godly. Rather, as Vidmar argued concerning Gasquet's references to English Protestant historians, this was a 'lawyer's device' intended to emphasise Gasquet's impartiality by showing his willingness to quote a Protestant historian.²⁶⁷ Gasquet was showing he only distanced himself from Froude's arguments because of their inaccuracy, rather than Froude's religion. For the same reason, Gasquet referred positively to the economic historian Thorold Rogers (1823–1890) and the ecclesiastical historian James Dixon (1833–1900).²⁶⁸ In addition to invoking these Anglican scholar-parsons, he showed the legal historian F.W.

²⁶⁶ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 249–250; Leopold von Ranke, A History of England, Principally in the Seventeenth Century, 7 vols (Clarendon: Oxford, 1875); Gooch, 'Ranke's Critics and Pupils', 72–97.

²⁶⁷ Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 104.

²⁶⁸ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 349, vol.2, 244, 496; W.A.S. Hewins, 'Rogers, Thorold (1823–1890)', rev. Alon Kadish, ODNB; James Sambrook, 'Dixon, Richard (1833–1900)', ODNB.

Maitland (1850–1906) had agreed with him in his estimation of Thomas Cromwell's (c.1485–1540) low character.²⁶⁹ Similarly, in later editions of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, Gasquet referred to areas in which Gairdner had come to agree with his conclusions.²⁷⁰ Gasquet emphasised that he was not relying on the judgement of these other historians; that would have compromised his claim simply to draw on primary documents. Rather, he scattered their names through his text to impress the reader with his impartiality and membership of a clique of respected scholars. There were points on which his own excavation of primary sources led him to agree with the conclusions of highly respected Protestant scholars, or vice versa.

Surprisingly, Gasquet's devotion to archival sources seems to have been most influenced by T.B. Macaulay (1800–1859).²⁷¹ Macaulay's reputation as a whiggish romanticiser of the past seems irreconcilable with Gasquet's emphasis on the avoidance of distorting teleologies and the simple presentation of primary source material. However, Gasquet repeatedly acknowledged his attraction to Macaulay's work, and seems to have reconciled Macaulay's evocative (as opposed to observational) approach to the past with his own rhetorical commitment to empiricism. Gasquet mentioned Macaulay approvingly several times in the text of Henry VIII

²⁶⁹ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 387; S.F.C. Milsom, 'Maitland, Frederic (1850–1906)', ODNB; Howard Leithhead, 'Cromwell, Thomas (1485–1540)', ODNB.

²⁷⁰ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (1906) 252, 268.

²⁷¹ William Thomas, 'Macaulay, Thomas (1800–1859)', ODNB.

and the English Monasteries.²⁷² He also wrote to Edmund Bishop (1846–1917) while composing the second volume of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, referring to Macaulay’s ‘Essay on History’ as ‘the very thing’, particularly in its emphasis on accuracy in small details.²⁷³ Both G.M. Trevelyan’s Life of Macaulay and Macaulay’s Essays appear in a note Gasquet wrote to advise a younger scholar about recommended historical reading.²⁷⁴

The ‘Essay’ Gasquet regarded so highly in fact subordinated accuracy in particular details to accuracy in interpretation.²⁷⁵ If Gasquet did absorb Macaulay’s argument that interpretative accuracy was of primary importance, and not logically consequent on factual accuracy, this might explain Gasquet’s propensity for factual error. It might clarify why, despite his stated commitment to the accurate representation of primary sources, Gasquet re-issued work that he knew desperately needed correction. Gasquet’s tendency to do this has been ascribed to the pressures of the administrative duties he took on from 1907, and the death of his collaborator Bishop in 1917. Following these events, it has been argued, the standards he applied to new writing slipped; though he continued to re-print older

²⁷² Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 1, 11, vol.2, 492.

²⁷³ Gasquet to Bishop (16 December 1888) in Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 147; R.J. Schoeck, ‘Bishop, Edmund (1846–1917)’, ODNB.

²⁷⁴ DA, GP, 891 Rough Notes and Drafts, Note on Recommended Reading.

²⁷⁵ T.B. Macaulay, ‘The Task of the Modern Historian’, Little Masterpieces, ed. Bliss Perry (Doubleday, Page: NY, 1908) 3–22.

historical work, it simply became outdated.²⁷⁶ Conversely, Coulton believed Gasquet knew all along there were profound errors in his works; he avoided correcting those which had been discovered so that he would not draw attention to the others or damage the prestige his work had undoubtedly brought the Roman Catholic Church.²⁷⁷ Gasquet's identification with Macaulay's ideas, however, raises the possibility he saw no need to correct errors in re-issued works, since he was still confident of the accuracy of their overarching interpretation.

Gasquet may have been attracted to Macaulay's example as a historian because of the propagandistic purpose at the root of his own writing. The text of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries sought to arouse public sympathy for the loss of the abbeys through its poignant images of the pitiable condition this left the monks in:

prior Goldstone of Christchurch, Canterbury, pleaded to be left to die in his old rooms ... abbot Malvern, of St Peter's, Gloucester, unable to avert the doom of his house, could never be brought to sign the fatal surrender.²⁷⁸

As if to emphasise the archival roots of his ability to empathise with these men, Gasquet then quoted from a history of St Peter's, Gloucester, which lamented

²⁷⁶ Nigel Abercrombie, Edmund Bishop (Longmans: 1959), xiii; Adrian Morey, 'Truth in Controversy: Cardinal Gasquet: Benedictine Replies to Dr Simcox', The Catholic Herald (24 March 1939) 5; Knowles, 'Cardinal Gasquet as a Historian', 260; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 123.

²⁷⁷ G.G. Coulton, Fourscore Years (CUP: 1945) 332-333.

²⁷⁸ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.2, 323.

as the lights disappeared one by one, [there were those who] felt that for them there was now a void which could never be filled, because their old abbey ... had passed away like an early morning dream.²⁷⁹

The reader may have been intended to believe this was a contemporary account instead of the editor's introduction. Burrow has seen Macaulay as master of a similar approach, encouraging an emotional investment of the reader in the historical narrative: 'it is obvious that the insinuation of a particular view of the nation's past and its politics becomes more potent, not less, when that past is dramatically re-enacted and rich with evocative circumstances and possibilities of empathy'.²⁸⁰

It seems likely Gasquet also adopted Macaulay's use of imagination as a historical tool. Macaulay believed the process of historical writing demanded a creative, almost artistic leap from the present into the past.²⁸¹

The ability of a historian to achieve this inspired journey implied the existence of a shared, connecting narrative with the past; a myth which, combined with a desire to explain and reflect the formation of contemporary civilisation, infused the historical writing of Macaulay's generation with a sense of being further advanced than their ancestors, but existing within the same, continuum.²⁸² At first the identification between Macaulay's imaginative inhabiting of the historical narrative and Gasquet's claim to be an impartial observer of archival sources seems absurd. Macaulay's understanding of the past in the light of the present implied the superiority

²⁷⁹ Ibid. 324.

²⁸⁰ Burrow, *A Liberal Descent*, 36.

²⁸¹ Ibid. 36–37, 54–55.

²⁸² Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past*, 13–15.

of the modern English nation to its antecedents, and located the origins of this national improvement in the Reformation. The idea that in a declaration of religious independence England had been set on a different and less violent path from continental Europe was a common contention of 'whiggish' history.²⁸³ Gasquet viewed modern English history as demonstrating the deficiencies of a Protestant society based on rebellion against the Roman Catholic roots of its true national identity, and suggested the nation needed to recover a connection to pre-Reformation religiosity as a corrective to contemporary social failures stemming from a whiggish narrative of English history. The progressivist teleology inspiring Macaulay's history seems diametrically opposed to Gasquet's medievalist retrenchment. However, Gasquet embraced an imaginative identification between the historian and their subject matter, and this linked his appeal to 'scientific' standards of historical research with an earlier style of writing. In a note marked 'The Discipline of Study', Gasquet focussed on the non-empirical advantages of using original sources. He wrote that these had a great charm which transported the historian back into the time being studied.²⁸⁴

Gasquet's belief that he was in continuity with the monks of old England underpinned this imaginative aspect of his historical writing. The emotive way he dwelt on the execution of the abbots of Glastonbury, Colchester and

²⁸³ The irony of whiggish history's sectarian roots is noted by Burrow, A Liberal Descent, 243–249.

²⁸⁴ DA, GP, 891 Rough Notes and Drafts, The Discipline of Study.

Reading implied he felt fraternal ties to these men. In one of his more emotive passages, Gasquet lamented Richard Whiting,

bowed under the weight of eighty years, was tied to a hurdle like a common felon and dragged to the top of Tor hill ... Even here he was not allowed to die in peace. With the ghastly apparatus around – the gallows, the boiling cauldron, the butcher’s knife – Pollard pestered him yet again once more with ‘divers articles and interrogatories’.²⁸⁵

Gasquet was bound to the abbots as one of their successors. In the year Henry VIII and the English Monasteries was published, he was involved in an archdiocesan inquiry into the possibility of canonising of a series of Reformation martyrs, including these abbots.²⁸⁶ One result of the inquiry was a petition to Rome for the recognition of a long-standing devotion to the abbots as martyrs within the English Benedictine Congregation. Knowles has argued that Gasquet allowed this petition to go forward, and provided most of the evidence for it, by publishing Henry VIII and the English Monasteries and The Last Abbot of Glastonbury, despite knowing that at least one abbot was not martyred at all.²⁸⁷ Gasquet’s attempt to restore the reputation of the monks extended beyond filial piety to the mythic interpretation and reworking of evidence.

²⁸⁵ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.2, 355.

²⁸⁶ ABPSJ, Uncatalogued File, Process of the *Praetermissi* 1888–1889, Report of Sessions XVI–XX.

²⁸⁷ Knowles, ‘Cardinal Gasquet as a Historian’, 257; Bede Camm, English Martyrs Beatified by Pope Leo XIII, vol.1 (B&O: 1904) 296, 409.

The historical continuity of Benedictinism permeated Gasquet's work, underpinning his belief in the positive connection between the contemporary Roman Catholic Church and its past. Henry VIII and the English Monasteries ended with the belief that a second flowering of catholic England would soon occur, because the English Benedictines had survived Henry's attack on the order. A monk of Westminster, Sigebert Buckley, had 'handed on ... the holy habit, and thus secured the perpetuation of an ancient line.'²⁸⁸ In a later edition of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, Gasquet concluded that

the past has ever its lesson for the present, and to know how grievous was the deception in the bright promises of national happiness and individual prosperity which the distribution of so noble a prize was to secure, may have its lessons even in our own day.²⁸⁹

Henry VIII and the English Monasteries was intended to show how the medieval Church had played a beneficial role in the life of the nation, and it thereby implied the contemporary Roman Catholic Church deserved to exercise greater influence in the English public sphere. It focussed on re-establishing the reputation of the medieval religious houses for moral probity by attacking the men who had visited and condemned them for immorality. It also claimed the monasteries had engaged in considerable charitable work of unique and demonstrable public benefit; the removal of their influence had caused the nation to become divided by selfishness, as it

²⁸⁸ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.2, 526.

²⁸⁹ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (1906) 477.

had lost its moral foundation. The dominance of the Protestant historical tradition which argued that the nation had benefitted from the removal of monastic corruptions was more effectively challenged by Gasquet's concentration on the misconduct of the monastic visitors than it could have been by a direct assertion of monastic virtue. The diligent observance of the Benedictine rule was indicated by Gasquet's reference to episcopal visitations of some monasteries: in these, 'extreme care [had been taken] in the correction of such faults as they were ... enabled to discover'.²⁹⁰ The punishments given to those discovered engaged in 'graver irregularities' were so severe that Gasquet believed 'the moral reputation of the monastic and conventual establishments was considered of the first importance'.²⁹¹ He argued that if bishops were so concerned to root out immorality among a few individuals, whole communities could not have descended into dissipation:

Anything like general immorality was altogether unknown among the religious of England. This much is clearly proved ... by the absence of any ... charge till it became necessary for Henry and his agents to blast the fair name of the monastic houses in order ... to gain possession of their property.²⁹²

²⁹⁰ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 36–37.

²⁹¹ Ibid. 37.

²⁹² Ibid. 38–39.

Though Gasquet referred to few late medieval reports emphasising the integrity of all monks, the corruption of Cromwell's visitors was well documented, and²⁹³

the fact that the avowed object of the visitors was plunder, and that the charges made against the religious were only means to attain that end, will be to most minds the most conclusive evidence of the untrustworthiness of their testimony.²⁹⁴

Gasquet inferred that the monks must have embodied a much more holy way of life than the visitation reports attributed to them. He argued the religious orders were only accused of immorality because their fidelity to the Pope threatened the royal supremacy, and the King, Cromwell and his followers lusted after their lands. Gasquet attempted to prove the monasteries had a positive social effect by the same kind of negative induction; he concentrated on the consequences of the dissolution, and claimed that but for the injustices of Henry's reign, the country would have not suffered them. He inferred the excellence of monastic charity from the cruel necessities of the Elizabethan poor laws.²⁹⁵ He argued that education had been excellent before the Reformation by examining the decline of Oxford University in the sixteenth-century.²⁹⁶

Henry VIII and the English Monasteries asserted that the monks had an honourable reputation until Cromwell, representative of a new officialdom owing their positions to their subservience to the monarch's personal will,

²⁹³ Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 97, 102.

²⁹⁴ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English monasteries, vol.1, 469.

²⁹⁵ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English monasteries, vol.2, 514–515.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*: 518–521.

determined that the King's power and his purse would be enlarged by the confiscation of the property of England's monasteries. Such men had 'had no sympathy ... with the best traditions of the past'.²⁹⁷ Gasquet maintained this was the reason for the monastic visitations of 1534–1536; to justify a dissolution already determined upon. Even worse than legitimising the dissolution of the religious houses, the visitation reports (or *comperta*) gave an impetus to a historical narrative that continued to libel the monks.²⁹⁸

Gasquet therefore focussed on discrediting the visitors, especially Richard Layton, Thomas Legh, John Ap Rice and John London as 'a crew of as truculent and filthy libellers as ever disgraced a revolutionary cause'.²⁹⁹

Thirty-two pages of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries were devoted to attacks on these men, denouncing them as deviants and perverts.³⁰⁰

Gasquet emphasised the injustice of their methods of inquiry. They took bribes, stole, and even attempted to corrupt the chastity of nuns.³⁰¹ In all these actions, Gasquet saw the guiding hand of Cromwell, who he viewed as the architect of 'a complete reign of terror in free England'.³⁰² Gasquet was pleased to find Layton found life at Glastonbury well-regulated and the abbot loyal to the King, until instructed by 'Crumwell' to find it

²⁹⁷ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 11.

²⁹⁸ Ibid. 437.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. xxxii.

³⁰⁰ Ibid. 437–469.

³⁰¹ Gasquet relied on Thomas Fuller's claim that visitors attempted to seduce nuns. Ibid. 266–267, 272–273, 434–435.

³⁰² Ibid. 395.

otherwise.³⁰³ Having discredited the visitors and the process of visitation, Gasquet was able to dismiss the *comperta*, previously thought of as the confessions of religious, as 'the baseless judgements of men who came to report evil'.³⁰⁴ Refusing to engage with the content of *comperta* allowed Gasquet to defend the monasteries as a whole. Vidmar argued this limited investigation and recourse to *ad hominem* attacks revealed Gasquet's prejudice as a historian; it shows he was not the dispassionate and informed historical investigator he claimed.³⁰⁵ It was, however, an efficient outworking of his apologetic purpose, the discrediting of the allegations of immorality levelled against the monasteries. Gasquet developed such loathing for Cromwell that his portrait of Cromwell's character lost all consistency. Over a mere eight pages Gasquet characterised his religious views as, variously, unchristian, Germanic and reformed, and those of a penitent, traditional Roman Catholic.³⁰⁶ Gasquet quoted any authority portraying Cromwell in a negative light, because of the way '[h]e had endeavoured to rob the religious of their reputations as he had of their property'.³⁰⁷

³⁰³ Ibid. 439; Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 100.

³⁰⁴ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 532.

³⁰⁵ Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 106–107.

³⁰⁶ Vidmar points out Gasquet characterised Cromwell as both an infidel and a Roman Catholic, but does not notice his attack on Cromwell's reformed sympathies. Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 423, 425, 429–430; Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 101.

³⁰⁷ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 432.

Gasquet was certain that the desecration of historic Church property had been unpopular with the majority of the population. It had been supported by parliament, and the content of the *comperta* accepted there because the nobility had been weakened by the Wars of the Roses, and the commons were alternately threatened with monarchical violence and tempted by lust for the monastic properties.³⁰⁸ Gasquet believed on some level those who desired the dissolution of the monasteries knew the allegations were false.³⁰⁹ Gasquet argued the religious houses had been held 'in popular veneration', and enjoyed excellent relations with the local community; he implied that this would have been impossible had there not been a wide public recognition that they were well governed.³¹⁰ He argued that, though there was little direct evidence for the health of monastic institutions, this was indicated by the popular discontent following the parliamentary dissolution of the smaller monasteries, demonstrated by the rising in Lincolnshire, the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the second northern rising.³¹¹ One of the demands of the pilgrims was that the religious should be returned to their monasteries, since³¹²

³⁰⁸ Ibid. 2–11, 301–307; Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.2, 389–393; Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 97–98.

³⁰⁹ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 353; Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 108.

³¹⁰ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, 249.

³¹¹ Ibid. xxiii, xxx, 325, Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.2, 119.

³¹² Ibid. 106–109.

the suppression of the abbeys was felt to be a blow to religion in those parts no less than a hardship to the poor, and a detriment to the country at large.³¹³

The King's violent response to the risings forced the country to accept the reality of the monastic dissolutions.³¹⁴ This meant the religious houses were no longer able to act as centres for poor relief and hospitality, or provide medical services and education. Henry VIII's destruction of the monasteries removed England's only coherent network of poverty relief, and further increased the numbers of the poor by releasing indigent monks and nuns to beg alongside those they had once succoured.³¹⁵ At the Reformation, Gasquet believed the model of charity which had operated through the monasteries was destroyed, and the poor were branded with 'the mark of crime'.³¹⁶ This was ironic, for Gasquet reasoned the poor were not thieves, but had themselves been stolen from, to everyone's detriment: 'the sacred heritage of the English poor was eaten up by the house of Tudor'.³¹⁷

Gasquet claimed that medieval monastic charity had surpassed the efficiency of contemporary philanthropic organisations, which were 'but awkward and imperfect agencies for executing a portion of those duties to society which flowed naturally and unobtrusively from the religious

³¹³ Ibid. 101.

³¹⁴ Ibid. 158.

³¹⁵ Knowles concluded that Gasquet exaggerated the numbers of religious made homeless by the dissolution. Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 108.

³¹⁶ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.2, 510.

³¹⁷ Ibid. 493–494.

communities in their ordinary practice of Christian charity'.³¹⁸ The English poor were still suffering from the dissolution of the monasteries. The clear implication was that English society would benefit from being reshaped through the monastic value of charity.

Gasquet also emphasised the excellence of monastic education, and claimed the dissolution of the religious houses had undermined the academic life of the nation. Rather than viewing the Reformation as building a foundation for new learning, Gasquet argued the humanist movement, which had changed the direction of University education during the early sixteenth-century, had been snuffed out by monastic dissolutions.³¹⁹ He claimed the reduction in the numbers of students at Oxford and Cambridge, supported there by religious orders, meant that 'these great homes of learning were threatened with nothing less than ruin'.³²⁰ Only a small proportion of the confiscated monastic property was traced by Gasquet as being used to support schooling, or colleges at the Universities.³²¹ At an elementary educational level, Gasquet claimed the effect of the dissolutions was even more disastrous. Among the groups deprived of the benefits of the religious life, Gasquet gave special prominence to women. The dissolution of the nunneries led to the 'absolute extinction of any systematic education for women' in England.³²² It also brought to an end

³¹⁸ Ibid. 505.

³¹⁹ Ibid. 520–521.

³²⁰ Ibid. 519.

³²¹ Ibid. 445–446.

³²² Ibid. 222.

the many blessings which must have accrued to a neighbourhood by the presence of a convent of cultivated English ladies ... theirs was the most potent civilizing influence in the rough days of the middle ages; and theirs was the task of tending the sick and smoothing the passing of the Christian soul to eternity.³²³

Gasquet's idealised image of the benefits accruing to the nation because of the existence of the medieval monasteries relied on an identification between the historical continuity of their religious tradition, their reputation for morality, and their social benefits. This was a powerful apologetic for the right of the contemporary Roman Catholic Church to reclaim its ancient place in the English public sphere.

Henry VIII and the English Monasteries represented Gasquet's highest achievement as a historical writer: it was revolutionary in convincing the English public of the conclusions of a Roman Catholic historian. Such was the popular acceptance of the arguments made in Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, that almost alone it proved to the majority of English men and women that Roman Catholicism was compatible with historical truthfulness. Gasquet was rhetorically successful in dismissing the claims of other historians as resting on distorting Protestant teleologies and inferior sources. He claimed to discuss the medieval Church with an authority based on privileged engagement with primary sources. This appeal to the archives gave Gasquet's conclusions great credibility. Claiming to have unearthed new, compelling evidence of the positive impact of the pre-Reformation Church on English society, and of the way reformers had deceived their

³²³ Ibid. 221.

descendants about this, Gasquet's account reclaimed England's pre-Reformation past for Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. It authenticated the claim of the contemporary Roman Catholic Church to an acknowledged place in the English public sphere by offering a counterpoint to Protestant teleologies which had long united the nation in ideological opposition to the contemporary Roman Catholic Church by highlighting its ancient faults. Gasquet argued the Roman Catholic Church, far from having abandoned 'the proud boast of *semper eadem*', was vindicated in its claim to historic virtue and continuity by the impartial standards of 'scientific' historical scholarship.³²⁴

The Argument's Reception

Henry VIII and the English Monasteries was well received both as a work of popular history and in academic circles, selling extremely well. Such was the monograph's immediate appeal that within a few months of John Hodge's first printing of the first volume, two new editions were issued. It has not been possible to find publication figures for all editions of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, but sales figures do survive for the third, sixth and seventh editions. From these later figures it seems likely that the first two editions sold at least 1000 copies of the first volume, in addition to an unknown number of two-volume sets. In the third edition of 1888, the first volume sold 1000 copies, and the second volume 2000.³²⁵ This

³²⁴ Gladstone, The Church of England and Ritualism, 30

³²⁵ DA, GP, 969 Publishing Firms, Sales Details from the Catholic Standard Library (JH) 1887-1889.

discrepancy was probably due to the later release date of the second volume in its first edition. This indicates the immediacy of the appeal of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries: readers rushed out to buy a copy of the first volume as soon as it was printed, rather than waiting to purchase both volumes together. They then had to complete their set with the second volume of the third edition. A fourth edition, with an unknown print run, was printed in 1890.³²⁶

In 1899 John C. Nimmo brought out a single volume, revised edition, and this format was continued by George Bell and Sons in their 1906 printing, and thereafter.³²⁷ This showed that by the turn of the century Gasquet's publishers were still aiming at a popular readership and anticipated the rise in sales generally associated with a revised edition. By 1914, sales of the sixth edition of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries had, predictably, slowed, but shortly after the end of the First World War, the monograph was profitable enough to justify a seventh edition in 1920.³²⁸ This was reprinted in 1925 and though sales had declined since its first publication, its apologetic impact was undiminished.³²⁹ In 1925 a church organist wrote to Gasquet saying that reading Henry VIII and the English Monasteries had

³²⁶ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (JH: 1890).

³²⁷ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (JCN: 1899); Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (1906).

³²⁸ DA, GP, 969 Publishing Firms, Sales Details from GB, 1914; Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (GB: 1920).

³²⁹ DA, GP, 969 Publishing Firms, Sales Details from GB, 1925.

caused him to consider the historic claims of the Roman Catholic Church, and to convert from the Church of England.³³⁰

The book's influence transcended even the large numbers sold, however, since it was a popular purchase for libraries and clubs. Books dealing with the past were popular library purchases in the later nineteenth-century.³³¹

Henry VIII and the English Monasteries was particularly prominently displayed: there were two copies on the table at the Carlton Club, and copies on the table at the St Paul's Cathedral and Sion College libraries.³³² It therefore had an immediate impact, even on Tory clubmen and leading Anglican clergy. In 1892 Henry VIII and the English Monasteries was issued as a monthly periodical, so the other end of the social spectrum could also appreciate its historical vindication of the Roman Catholic Church.³³³ Freeman's Journal recommended all Roman Catholics should subscribe to this, 'by far the best historical essay on the period it treats of'.³³⁴

In addition to engaging with Gasquet's text directly, many people would have been influenced by the argument of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries through its extensive reviews in the press. Since these stated their approval of its impartial basis in original research, Gasquet's

³³⁰ DA, GP, Letters Relating to Acton, Henry Rechevall to Gasquet (30 March 1925).

³³¹ Readman, 'The Place of the Past in English Culture', 158–159.

³³² Gasquet to Bishop (22 April 1888) in Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 146.

³³³ 'The Suppression of the Monasteries', Freeman's Journal (21 April 1892) 5.

³³⁴ 'Books of the Day: Henry VIII and the English Monasteries', Freeman's Journal (23 June 1893) 2.

credentials as a 'scientific' historian were widely endorsed. The Liverpool Mercury referred to the

all but universal chorus of praise with which the work has been received ... Newspapers of all ranks and shades of opinion – secular and religious, daily and weekly, Protestant and Catholic – have conspired to speak highly not merely of the author's patience in research, his skill in grouping facts, and the finish of his literary style, but of his strict historical impartiality.³³⁵

The Glasgow Herald believed that though Gasquet's natural sympathies might have been with the medieval monks, the frequent recourse which he made in the text to primary source material meant readers were able to see how closely his argument conformed to the archival truth.³³⁶

The reviewers disseminated the radical opinion that a Roman Catholic priest had provided a truer account of English history than hundreds of years of Protestant narrative tradition. They commonly summarised the central argument of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, that the medieval monasteries had been defamed in the sixteenth-century and ever since. The Standard absorbed the purpose of Gasquet's apologetic: that the Roman Catholic Church had been at one with the nation before the Reformation, and should be so again, since

³³⁵ 'Literary Notices: Henry VIII and the English Monasteries', The Liverpool Mercury (20 June 1888) 7.

³³⁶ 'Henry VIII and the Monasteries', The Glasgow Herald 213 (5 September 1889) 4.

the wholesale uprooting of institutions so organic, and, in the main, so beneficial, occasioned untold misery, not only to the religious Orders, but to the poor who were more or less dependent on them.³³⁷

Soon after the publication of the first volume of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, Mandell Creighton (1843–1901, later Bishop of London) reviewed it in the English Historical Review.³³⁸ He dismissed Gasquet's work as derivative since it concentrated on the manner in which the dissolution of the monasteries was carried out by Cromwell's agents. Creighton believed the measures against the monasteries had already been adequately described 'in Canon Dixon's book or in Mr. Gairdner's prefaces'.³³⁹ Rather than re-examining this ground, Creighton thought Gasquet should have researched to what extent the visitors had exploited legitimate criticisms of the monastic life.³⁴⁰ He lamented that Gasquet had not published the episcopal registers he claimed to have consulted; these would have given an indication of how the monasteries had been viewed by the episcopate before the rise of Cromwell.³⁴¹ It is not clear whether the second volume of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries was influenced by Creighton's review. There is a stronger assertion of the innocence of the

³³⁷ 'Some New Books: Henry VIII and the English Monasteries', The Standard 20245 (29 May 1889) 2.

³³⁸ Mandell Creighton, 'Review: Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII and Henry VIII and the English Monasteries', EHR 3.10 (1888), 373–379; C.M.D. Crowder, 'Creighton, Mandell (1843–1901)', ODNB.

³³⁹ Creighton, 'Review: Henry VIII and the English Monasteries', 376.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 376.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.* 378.

monks in that volume than in the first, but this, and Gasquet's more obvious citation of secondary authorities, bolstered his existing apologetic rather than indicating a refocused investigative agenda. Gasquet believed Creighton had seen 'that the volume really attacks the Anglo-Catholic position' and he was determined to press home his assault.³⁴²

Creighton's review certainly did not limit the academic impact of Gasquet's conclusions. In its aftermath, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries was cited as an authority in other articles in the English Historical Review. Between 1888 and 1909, Gasquet was cited positively in six articles, the vast majority of those which dealt with English monasteries in the period.³⁴³ Sections of Froude's work dealing with the monastic dissolution were cited approvingly in one article and dismissively in three others.³⁴⁴ The

³⁴² Gasquet to Bishop, Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 146.

³⁴³ Positive references to Gasquet's work on the monasteries appear in George Perry, 'The Visitation of the Monastery of Thame, 1526', EHR 3.12 (1888) 704-722:705; Perry, 'Episcopal Visitations of the Austin Canons of Leicester and Dorchester, Oxon', EHR 4.14 (1889) 304-313:304; Mary Bateson, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace', EHR 5.18 (1890) 330-345:331; Bateson, 'Archbishop Warham's Visitation of Monasteries, 1511', EHR 6.21 (1891) 18-35:25; J.H. Pollen, 'Dr. Nicholas Sander', EHR 6.21 (1891) 36-47:44; M. Oppenheim, 'The Royal and Merchant Navy under Elizabeth', EHR 6.23 (1891) 465-494:465. Only two other articles between 1888 and 1900 concentrated on late medieval English monasteries: Maud Sellers, 'The City of York in the Sixteenth Century', EHR 9.34 (1894) 275-304:285, 293; Sellers, 'York in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century', EHR 12.47 (1897) 437-447:447.

³⁴⁴ Positive reference to Froude's work on the monasteries appear in Bateson, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace', 331. Negative reference to Froude's work on the monasteries appear in Bateson, 'Archbishop Warham's Visitation of Monasteries', 18; Pollen, 'Dr. Nicholas

persuasive argument of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries led to widespread acceptance of Gasquet's claim that the medieval monasteries were falsely accused of immorality, and their dissolution had been a tragedy for English society, undermining its stability and commitment to charitable civil order. The fact that other historians had criticised the behaviour of the monastic visitors did not detract from the revolutionary character of Gasquet's work: he was the first historian with a major audience to undermine the idea that England's greatness was rooted in their attack on the citadels of medieval religion.

The long-term impact of this historiographical innovation was recognised by Gasquet's peers. Bishop told Cuthbert Butler (1858–1934, later Abbot of Downside), 'no book has appeared of late years by a Catholic, or any other than Cardinal Newman's, which has found access among Protestants – like Fr Gasquet's; it is the good temper, the candour, the fairness that strikes everyone'.³⁴⁵ In 1917, Wulstan Richards (1822–1923) looked back on the way Henry VIII and the English Monasteries had

changed for good the historic outlook of the monastic ages in England, & rolled back forever the tide of obloquy with which Reformation historians had flooded our fathers in the Order ... Probably no one has done more to break down for Catholics in

Sander', 46; James Gairdner, 'Archbishop Morton and St. Albans' EHR 24.93 (1909) 91–96:91, 92.

³⁴⁵ Abercrombie, Edmund Bishop, 146.

England the barriers of isolation & prejudice than Cardinal

Gasquet.³⁴⁶

In 1920, a prize essay written at the University of California, Berkeley, acclaimed Gasquet's for his membership of the 'scientific school of historical writers' which allowed Henry VIII and the English Monasteries to offer 'for the first time an immense amount of new evidence which unquestionably presents the history of the Reformation in a new light'.³⁴⁷

Gasquet thereby

helped to remove from the minds of the conventional those many prejudices which barred the English people from doing justice to the Catholic Church. His work on the Pre-Reformation period has done more than that of any one man to bring the Catholic tradition of history before the attention of the public.³⁴⁸

A Monument of *Historia Novissima*? Gasquet's Later Work (1890-1906)

Between 1890 and 1906 Gasquet sustained an impressive rate of publication. He was stimulated to write by his increasingly demanding position as a leading intellectual figure in the Roman Catholic Church in England. His historical sermons found their way into pamphlets and then eventually into collected volumes, and his involvement in the Papal inquiry leading to the condemnation of Anglican orders in 1896 led to a number of

³⁴⁶ DA, Hugh Connolly Papers, 3557.vii.A.3.F., DA, Hugh Connolly Papers, 3557.vii.A.3.F., Wulstan Richards, Cardinal Gasquet's Jubilee (1917), 6-7.

³⁴⁷ Lloyd Mechem, An Evaluation of the Work of Cardinal Gasquet in the Field of pre-Reformation History (Newman Club: Berkley, CA, 1920) 15, 3. . .

³⁴⁸ Ibid. 15, 16.

books first advocating the condemnation of Anglican orders and then justifying the impartiality of the process of inquiry.³⁴⁹ His duties associated with the administration of the English Benedictine Congregation limited the time he could give to this work, but historical writing remained his primary occupation until 1907, when he was appointed to head the commission to revise the Vulgate, and split his time between the English Benedictine Congregation and that work in Rome. These new duties prevented Gasquet from composing extended works of English history, though in the 1920s he did publish material related to this Anglo–Roman context.³⁵⁰

In Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer, Gasquet, in close collaboration with Bishop, launched an outright scholarly attack on Anglican ritualism.³⁵¹ They contrasted the historical continuity of Roman Catholic liturgies and their articulation of a belief in the sacrifice of the Mass with the changes that the first and second prayer books of Edward VI

³⁴⁹ Gasquet, The Pall from the Body of the Blessed Peter: a Pledge for the Unity of the Catholic Faith: a Sermon (CTS: 1893); Gasquet, 'The Pall', The Mission of Augustine (GB: 1924) 70–93; David Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, Ordines Anglicani: Expositio Historica et Theologica (PP: 1896); Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, Responsio ad Votum Revmi P de Augustinis SJ (PP: Rome, 1896); Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, Documenta ad Legationem Cardinalis Poli Spectantia (PP: Rome, 1896); Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, Brevis Conspectus Ritualium Ordinationum in Oriente et Occidente (PP: Rome, 1896); Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, Novae quaedam Animadversiones in Ordinationes Anglicanorum (PP: Rome, 1896); Gasquet and Moyes, Risposta all' Opuscolo intitolato 'De Re Anglicana' (PP: Rome, 1896); Gasquet, Leaves from my Diary (B&O: 1911).

³⁵⁰ Gasquet, Great Britain and the Holy See; Gasquet, A History of the Venerable English College, Rome (Longmans: 1920).

³⁵¹ Gasquet and Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer (JH: 1891).

had introduced into the doctrines of the Church of England. Gasquet and Bishop intended to show the early Reformers had determined to eradicate the Mass from England, and attempts by Anglican ritualists to claim otherwise were historically illiterate appropriations of the inheritance of the Roman Catholic Church.³⁵² Through a detailed study of the way the prayer books had been compiled, centring on examination of Cranmer's drafts they also implied the concept of Roman Catholic continuity was superior to the Anglican aspiration to primitivism. Charting the influence of Lutheran theology on the first Prayer Book, and Reformed theology on the second, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer served a further polemical purpose: it showed that the rites of the Church of England were German rather than English in origin.³⁵³

Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer relied on an impressive foundation in primary source material, notably Cranmer's annotated breviaries and drafts of the orders for matins and evensong. Through Bishop's influence, great care was also taken to ensure its accuracy in the press. Reviewers appreciated its 'scientific' character, claiming that it was a fine successor to Henry VIII and the English Monasteries and finding 'in every page the same cool, calm, judicious discrimination, the same scrupulous accuracy, the same transparent truthfulness in facts and in references'.³⁵⁴ Reviewers also sympathised with the anti-ritualist character

³⁵² Nigel Abercrombie, Edmund Bishop, 154.

³⁵³ Gasquet and Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer, 26, 35, 36, 130, 132, 207, 224–225, 227–228, 296.

³⁵⁴ 'Literature: Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer', Freeman's Journal (12 December 1890) 2.

of the text, confirming the argument of this thesis, most clearly articulated in chapter III, that much anti-Catholic animus was transferred from the Roman Catholic Church to Anglican ritualism at the end of the nineteenth-century, and showing how the development of a Roman Catholic historical identity encouraged this process. The forthright 'scientific' identity Gasquet's work associated with the Roman Catholic Church was in contrast to the sentimental invention he claimed defined Anglo-Catholicism. The Pall Mall Gazette recognised how damaging this was to ritualism:

the intervention of these two learned writers is a fact that must be reckoned with in the controversy [over the intention to continue the Mass within the Church of England] hereafter. There are a good many of us who think that ... there is no magic in all the centuries of antiquity that are claimed for the Mass; and that the further we get from the model of scripture the more likely we are to err ... but there are others to whom it can scarcely fail to be a serious blow'.³⁵⁵

Gasquet and Bishop's study of the development of the Book of Common Prayer, coupled with their historical anti-Ritualism, proved formidable weapons against the ecumenical hopes of Anglican ritualists associated with the English Church Union, as they ensured the Papal condemnation of Anglican orders in 1896.

Gasquet's attempt to excuse the medieval Church of moral responsibility for the Reformation motivated three books expanding on the arguments of Henry VIII and The English Monasteries, to illustrate Gasquet's assertion of

³⁵⁵ 'New Books and New Editions: The Prayer Book of Edward VI', The Pall Mall Gazette 8037 (22 December 1890) 3.

the positive social model provided by medieval catholic religion that greedy men lacking a historical sensibility had set out to destroy. In 1893, Gasquet published The Great Pestilence.³⁵⁶ This was an account of the fourteenth-century Black Death and its destabilising effect on a previously durable society. It 'inflicted what can only be called a wound deep in the social body'.³⁵⁷ Shortages of labour caused by its massive mortality devastated the landholdings of the ancient nobility and the monasteries.³⁵⁸ The medieval Church was also pastorally and intellectually weakened by the long after-effects of the Black Death.³⁵⁹ Gasquet implied that these economic and demographic factors, rather than an inherent need for reform, meant that traditional society was unable to defend itself against the rise of reform movements and a grasping middling sort described in Henry VIII and the English Monasteries.

This was a compelling narrative, and one which was of topical interest because of the influenza epidemic which raged through Europe between 1889 and 1894.³⁶⁰ It was reviewed in this context by The Times, The

³⁵⁶ Gasquet, The Great Pestilence (Simpkin & Marshall: 1893).

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.* xvi.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.* xix, 200–202.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 202–216.

³⁶⁰ Mark Honigsbaum, 'The Great Dread: Cultural and Psychological Impacts and Responses to the 'Russian' Influenza in the United Kingdom, 1889–1893', Social History of Medicine 23.2 (2010) 229–319; F.B. Smith, 'The Russian Influenza in the United Kingdom, 1889–1894', Social History of Medicine 8.1 (1995) 55–73.

Manchester Guardian, Freeman's Journal, and The Observer.³⁶¹ Though The Manchester Guardian believed readers might not be convinced by all Gasquet's conclusions, it thought the Black Death should be the subject of further historical study and 'those that follow him cannot fail to benefit by Dr. Gasquet's industry and learning'.³⁶² This was an acknowledgement of the pioneering nature of Gasquet's work, which situated him – a Roman Catholic monk writing in the face of hundreds of years of Protestant historical tradition – as a reliable and trustworthy contributor to the corporate endeavour of the historical profession.

The second text developing themes from Henry VIII and the English Monasteries was English Monastic Life, published in 1904.³⁶³ This was a portrait of a generic medieval monastery, intended for a broad general audience and therefore well illustrated with photographs of manuscripts, sketches of monks, maps, and pictures of ruined monasteries.³⁶⁴ These, coupled with a text which avoided specificity when outlining the organisation of a religious house and the everyday life of a monk, promoted the imaginative identification of the reader with the past that has been identified as distinctive of Gasquet's debt to Macaulay. Gasquet followed his practice in Henry VIII and the English Monasteries of listing a wide variety of archival primary sources which had contributed to the text, but

³⁶¹ 'The Great Pestilence', The Times 34166 (20 January 1894) 6; 'Summary of News', The Manchester Guardian (26 January 1894) 5; 'An Historical Pestilence', Freeman's Journal (29 January 1894) 4; 'Editorial', The Observer (21 January 1894) 4.

³⁶² 'Summary of News', The Manchester Guardian (26 January 1894) 5.

³⁶³ Gasquet, English Monastic Life (Methuen: 1904).

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.* xii.

actually based almost all his description of English Monastic Life on a small number of printed sources. He drew mostly on the Rites, and Customes, Belonginge or Beinge within the Monasticall Church of Durham, an account of the pre-Reformation conduct of the abbey there written in 1593 and published by the Surtees Society in 1844.³⁶⁵ He had also relied on this in the composition of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries.³⁶⁶ Believing that, since the success of Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, his readership would no longer be convinced by the allegations of immorality against the monks advanced by Protestant historians, English Monastic Life made a stronger case that the religious orders had encouraged their members toward the perfection of their lives.³⁶⁷ Gasquet emphasised the hard discipline of the rule. He also explicitly linked the service the monasteries offered to the poor with their educational work, suggesting Benedictine monachism made an integrated contribution to the welfare of the commonwealth.³⁶⁸

In a similarly populist style, in 1906 Gasquet produced Parish Life in Medieval England.³⁶⁹ This returned to the theme of two short pamphlets he produced for the Catholic Truth Society at the turn of the century: Christian Democracy in pre-Reformation Times and The Layman in the pre-

³⁶⁵ James Raine, ed., A Description or Briefe Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites, and Customes Belonging or Being Within the Monasticall Church of Durham Before the Suppression (J.B. Nichols and Son: 1844).

³⁶⁶ Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol.1, xvii-xviii.

³⁶⁷ Gasquet, English Monastic Life, 159.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 33.

³⁶⁹ Gasquet, Parish Life in Medieval England (Methuen: 1906).

Reformation Parish, both reprinted in The Last Abbot of Glastonbury.³⁷⁰

Gasquet continued to assert that the authority of the Church had underpinned social cohesion before the Reformation, but expanded his focus on the monasteries as the key constituents of the Church's mission, to see how the Church had encouraged the formation of structures of mutual charity in the lives of the laity. Notably, Parish Life in Medieval England examined the importance of guild life to the process of developing lay piety and communal support.

Gasquet emphasised that the medieval Church had successfully formed a sense of reciprocal obligation among groups of laymen through the pious fraternities originally established to regulate trade or care for and enrich church property. Rather than being constrained by their apparently commercial or devotional purposes, the objects of such guilds were in practice focussed on altruistic support for guild members:

they were the benefit societies and the provident associations of the Middle Ages. They undertook ... the duties now frequently performed by ... hospitals, by alms-houses, and by guardians of the poor. Not infrequently they are found acting for the public good of the community ... The very reason of their existence was to afford mutual aid.³⁷¹

Gasquet argued the devotional objects of guilds built up their social relevance. They channelled popular energy into caring for and enriching the

³⁷⁰ Gasquet, Christian Democracy in pre-Reformation Times (CTS: 1899); Gasquet, The Layman in the pre-Reformation Parish (CTS: 1900); Gasquet, The Last Abbot of Glastonbury (GB: 1908) 245–260, 261–278.

³⁷¹ Gasquet, Parish Life in Medieval England, 256.

fabric of local churches, and this had fostered a greater communal responsibility for the life of the parish than existed within the contemporary Roman Catholic Church.³⁷²

Gasquet implied contemporary efforts to foster a culture of representative lay involvement with the structures of the Roman Catholic Church were in keeping with medieval practice, and would bring significant benefits to the spiritual health of the Church, as well as the material comfort of his co-religionists. He provided the movements encouraging the formation of co-operative associations among Roman Catholic workers with a scholarly legitimacy. The most prominent example of this was the Catholic Social Guild (founded 1909) which built on a romanticised vision of the craftsmen of the medieval period to articulate a form of socialism acceptable to the episcopal hierarchy.³⁷³ The same impulse inspired the artists who drew on the creative legacy of the arts and craft movement to form the Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic in 1920.³⁷⁴ Gasquet also contended that the culture embodied by medieval guilds should define the approach of the Roman Catholic Church to wider problems affecting English society: a firm appreciation of the way the Church had inspired 'self help' and 'mutual

³⁷² Ibid. 70.

³⁷³ Joan Keating, 'The Making of the Catholic Labour Activist: the Catholic Social Guild and Catholic Workers' College, 1909–1939', *Labour History Review* 59.3 (1994) 44–56.

³⁷⁴ Joe Cribb, 'The Guild of St Joseph and St Dominic', *Eric Gill and Ditchling: The Workshop Tradition*, ed. Cribb and Ruth Cribb (Ditchling Museum: Ditchling, 2007) 25–31.

assistance' in medieval England should have helped it take on greater responsibility for re-shaping contemporary society in that image.³⁷⁵

The nature of Gasquet's reputation as a 'scientific' historical scholar, and the importance he attached to using historical writing as a form of apologetic for the contemporary Roman Catholic Church in England are demonstrated in three further studies which show his ideological commitment to historical advocacy for the Roman Catholic place in the public sphere. These also show his willingness to engage in source manipulation and obfuscation to present an integrated narrative asserting the respectability of historical writing within the Roman Catholic Church.

In November 1896 Acton (then Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge) entreated Gasquet to contribute to the forthcoming Cambridge Modern History.³⁷⁶ This was one of the first and most important collaborative works undertaken by English historians. It asserted the existence of a collective 'scientific' historical culture that unified the English historical community and validated it by international standards.³⁷⁷ Gasquet's reputation as a historian who, despite a strong confessional background, was seen as impartial, meant he even featured in the outline of the project Acton circulated to the Syndics of Cambridge

³⁷⁵ Gasquet, The Last Abbot of Glastonbury, 259–260.

³⁷⁶ Acton, Creighton, S.M. Leathes, A.G. Prothero and A.W. Ward, eds, The Cambridge Modern History, 14 vols (CUP: Cambridge, 1905–1912).

³⁷⁷ Altholz, 'Lord Acton and the Plan for the Cambridge Modern History', HJ 39.3 (1996) 723–736.

University Press.³⁷⁸ There Acton advocated the production of a collaborative work of history so disinterested in tone that the reader would not be able to tell 'without examining the list of authors, where the Bishop of Oxford laid down the pen, and whether ... Gasquet ... took it up'.³⁷⁹ Acton asked him to contribute a chapter on pre-Reformation history, saying no-one could possibly be a more impartial historian of the period.³⁸⁰ Butler, at that time superior of Benet House, Cambridge, wrote to Gasquet to back this request, supporting Acton's belief that this kind of historical work had a real effect on the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and wider culture: 'this is really part of the business of effecting a great change here'.³⁸¹

Acton hoped Gasquet would produce 'a monument of *historia novissima*, and an example of treatment for all who come after'.³⁸² However the chapter on 'Catholic England' he eventually produced in March 1899 was too polemical for Acton's taste.³⁸³ Acton asked Gasquet to revise the work from

³⁷⁸ Chadwick, Acton and History, 241; Altholz, 'Lord Acton and the Cambridge Modern History', 730.

³⁷⁹ Ibid. 730.

³⁸⁰ DA, GP, Letters Relating to Acton, Acton to Gasquet (30 November 1896).

³⁸¹ DA, GP, Letters Relating to Acton, Butler to Gasquet (30 November 1896); Philip Jebb, 'Benet House Cambridge', EBH 23 (1997) 48–51:48.

³⁸² DA, GP, Letters Relating to Acton, Acton to Gasquet (4 March 1898).

³⁸³ DA, GP, Notes on Edward VI, CUP to Gasquet offering terms for the Cambridge Modern History (15 March 1898).

‘that point of view, of strictly scientific treatment’.³⁸⁴ Gasquet claimed, however, he had no inclination to try and write on

Catholic England without at present seeming to be more Catholic than people would like – that is, if I am to write what I hold to be the truth and set down what in time people will have to come to, whether they like it or not ... at present people are not prepared for this view and would look on it probably as Catholic special pleading.³⁸⁵

Clearly Gasquet felt that, in bringing a positive apologetic for the state of the pre-Reformation Church before the English public, he still had work to do. Acton also criticised the bibliography of Gasquet’s article for its inadequacy, but Gasquet claimed

I have my notebooks and could empty references with the best of them but ... [m]y conclusions from numberless manuscripts and from examining every early printed book I could come upon, are founded upon a general survey and the mere references would help no one.³⁸⁶

This excuse was clearly very weak. Whether motivated by the chaotic state of his research notes, or the desire to protect his narrative from forensic analysis, his resistance to the suggested revisions revealed how much Gasquet was committed to using historical writing as a form of Roman

³⁸⁴ DA, GP, Letters Relating to Acton, Acton to Gasquet (12 June 1900).

³⁸⁵ Leslie misdated Gasquet’s involvement with the Cambridge Modern History, but not all the documents that informed Leslie’s account are currently among the Gasquet Papers. It seems possible Leslie’s account of Gasquet’s refusal to modify his contribution conveys Gasquet’s tone, even if it was incorrectly dated. Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 113.

³⁸⁶ Ibid. 114.

Catholic apologetic. Despite aspiring to the status associated with 'scientific' historical scholarship, Gasquet therefore withdrew his contribution to the Cambridge Modern History. He later used it as the basis for a course of lectures at St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, eventually published in The Eve of the Reformation.³⁸⁷

Gasquet's reputation for impartial historical work was, however, not damaged by the inadequacies of his article for the Cambridge Modern History. In 1905 he was commissioned to advise the Encyclopaedia Britannica on revisions to their church history articles 'along scientific lines'.³⁸⁸ He was also commissioned to write on the Papacy for them and the editor asked Gasquet to deal with this subject himself because of his impartial reputation:

It is because I realize the great difficulties of the subject, and our need of having it done by one who will be quite free from any reproach either on one side of the other, that I have come to you to have the article done.³⁸⁹

Following Gasquet's advice, the editor also sought other Roman Catholics to write individual articles. However, he feared that many of them not would come up to the same 'scientific' standard as Gasquet. He worried that his readers would also think, that 'catholic scholarship is more given to subjectivity than protestant'.³⁹⁰ Gasquet was seen as a figure who was

³⁸⁷ Ibid. 115; Gasquet, The Eve of the Reformation (GB: 1900).

³⁸⁸ DA, GP, Notes on Edward VI, James Shotwell to Gasquet (10 April 1905); Encyclopaedia Britannica, 29 vols (CUP: Cambridge, 1910–1911).

³⁸⁹ DA, GP, Notes on Edward VI, Shotwell to Gasquet (16 August 1905) 1.

³⁹⁰ Ibid. 3.

significantly more advanced in his acknowledgement of the importance of 'scientific' impartiality than his co-religionists, but he used this reputation for historical rectitude to argue for the respectability of other Roman Catholic historical writers. Gasquet eventually convinced the editor to place a disproportionate number of articles 'in Catholic hands'.³⁹¹ Gasquet's willingness to engage in this advocacy meant he was becoming the acknowledged leader of a wider group of Roman Catholic historical writers.

At the beginning of the twentieth-century the 'modernist heresy' was seen as a growing threat to structures of power within the Roman Catholic Church, and it was roundly condemned in the papal encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (1907), endangering the intellectual articulations of the faith in forms that were increasingly important to the Roman Catholic Church's influence in wider English society. Gasquet's standing as an obedient member of the English Roman Catholic Church, and his reputation as a historical authority, gave him the credibility necessary to dissociate 'scientific' work on modern history from the perceived dangers of modernism. In 1905 Gasquet was commissioned by Burns and Oates to edit some of the letters of Acton connected with *The Rambler* and *The Home and Foreign Review*.³⁹² These, along with a long introduction, appeared as *Lord Acton and His Circle* in 1906.³⁹³ He took this opportunity to argue for the importance of the contribution of the laity to the intellectual mission of the Church, and to stress the relationship between 'scientific' historical

³⁹¹ DA, GP, Notes on Edward VI, Shotwell to Gasquet (4 September 1905).

³⁹² DA, GP, Letters Relating to Acton, B&O to Gasquet (17 June 1905).

³⁹³ Gasquet, *Lord Acton and his Circle* (B&O: 1906).

scholarship and the increasing respectability of the Roman Catholic Church in the English public sphere. Gasquet argued that, though their views had occasionally run ahead of the hierarchy Acton and Richard Simpson (1820–1876), co-editor of The Rambler, had continually submitted themselves to the authority of the Church in all matters of faith.³⁹⁴ He claimed Acton's refusal to ignore the inconsistencies and immoralities manifested in the Church's past, far from making him a disloyal Roman Catholic, performed the greatest service to the Church's reputation among the general public.

Acton

force[d non-Catholics] to see that we Catholics are neither cowards nor tricksters, but possess our full share of courage and truth-telling ... It is useless to proclaim that history and science are in harmony with our religion, unless we show that we think so by being ourselves foremost in telling the whole truth about the Church.³⁹⁵

The Jesuit modernist George Tyrrell (1861–1909), assumed that Gasquet's intention, in offering this defence of Acton's orthodoxy, was simply to claim 'a "big man" wholesale as witness for Romanism pure and simple'.³⁹⁶ However, had Gasquet intended to memorialise Acton as an iconic Roman Catholic, other forms of commemoration would have provided a more appropriate mechanism than a volume focusing on Acton's editorship of The Rambler and The Home and Foreign Review, which had a tiny

³⁹⁴ Ibid. xliiii, xlv, lxxxv; Altholz, 'Simpson, Richard (1820–1876)', ODNB.

³⁹⁵ Gasquet, Lord Acton and his Circle, xxxiii.

³⁹⁶ George Tyrrell, A Jesuit Friendship: Letters of George Tyrrell to Herbert Thurston, ed. Robert Butterworth (Roehampton Institute: 1988); Nicholas Sagovsky, 'Tyrrell, George (1861–1909)', ODNB.

circulation, antagonised the contemporary episcopal hierarchy, and preceded Acton's denunciation of Papal infallibility. Lord Acton and his Circle's concentration on Acton's involvement with The Rambler and The Home and Foreign Review did not reflect Acton's later fame or significance within the Roman Catholic community. Instead, Gasquet wanted to draw attention to Acton's attempts to use these reviews to improve the intellectual state of the English Roman Catholic community, occasionally in defiance of its clerical leadership. Lord Acton and his Circle did make some factual corrections to the Acton–Drew correspondence which had recently been published, damaging Acton's reputation with liberals; it also claimed that Acton had eventually accepted the dogmatic definition of Papal infallibility, and that this had been acknowledged by Cardinal Vaughan.³⁹⁷ Gasquet's motive for producing Lord Acton and his Circle was more ideologically invested than the rehabilitation of Acton as an individual. Gasquet believed that a justification for the independent pursuit of historical fact within the English Roman Catholic Church had first been given in The Rambler. He argued that since Acton's time, an acknowledgement of historical truth, and a commitment to honesty even when inconvenient, had come to define the character of the Roman Catholic Church in English society, to the benefit of the Church's reputation there.

Gasquet was keen to claim Acton as a forerunner of his own, more successful efforts to reconcile the independent authority of 'scientific'

³⁹⁷ Gasquet, Lord Acton and his Circle, xi, lxxxviii, 367, 371; Acton, Letters of Lord Acton to Mary, Daughter of the Right Hon. W.E. Gladstone, ed. Herbert Paul (George Allen: 1904).

historical scholarship in factual matters with the religious claims of the Roman Catholic Church. He therefore accentuated the importance of The Rambler and The Home and Foreign Review in building up a historical Roman Catholic intellectual culture in England.³⁹⁸ He claimed Acton had made Roman Catholics pioneers in the subjection of Church morality (but not doctrine) to historical scrutiny:

The Rambler ... held the view that the Church had nothing to lose and much to gain by meeting facts as they were ... It taunted all those who would attempt, for example, the rehabilitation of 'bad popes', and would desire that all should shut their eyes to the unpleasant facts of Church history, as being plain 'whitewashes'.³⁹⁹

Through the publication of Lord Acton and his Circle, Gasquet argued that the impact of Roman Catholic historians who were not mere polemicists had been of fundamental importance to the creation of a respectable public identity for the Roman Catholic Church in England. Implicit in this claim was his desire to continue to reconcile the concept of 'scientific' historical scholarship, with which Acton was associated, with the imperative he felt to use history to increase the reputation of the Roman Catholic Church. After all, 'we Catholics in England have come to see that true scientific criticism is really the best and most faithful handmaiden of the Church'.⁴⁰⁰

Ironically, Aelred Watkin (1918–1997) has shown that Gasquet passed off a heavily abbreviated selection of Acton's letters as his complete

³⁹⁸ Gasquet, Lord Acton and his Circle, xxii, xv, xxvi, xlv.

³⁹⁹ Ibid. xxxix–xl.

⁴⁰⁰ DA, GP, Letters relating to Acton, Draft Letter from Gasquet to The Tablet (c.1906).

correspondence dealing with The Rambler and The Home and Foreign Review.⁴⁰¹ This, combined with Gasquet's editorial mistakes, alterations, and omissions, 'make[s] it impossible to use the book ... to produce a genuine history of Acton's periodicals in their most significant years'.⁴⁰² Watkin has showed that in this text Gasquet was motivated by 'an altogether too naïve regard for ecclesiastical and other susceptibilities' to censor Acton's letters prior to publication.⁴⁰³ In part, this was in response to a series of private petitions asking for embarrassing material, such as that highlighting the unhappy nature of Acton's marriage, to be omitted.⁴⁰⁴ In part, as Watkin says, it was designed to soften Acton's characteristically disrespectful attitude toward individuals in authority within the Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁰⁵ That is why 'there are numerous deliberate amendments of the original text, such as the substitution of "Newman" where Acton would sometimes write "Old Noggs"'.⁴⁰⁶ Lord Acton and his Circle epitomised Gasquet's approach to historical writing and his understanding of the importance of 'scientific' history to the improving reputation of the Roman Catholic Church in England. It used primary sources which had

⁴⁰¹ Aelred Watkin and Herbert Butterfield, 'Gasquet and the Acton-Simpson Correspondence', Cambridge Historical Journal 10.1 (1950) 75-105. It is not clear how much involvement Butterfield had in the production of this article, but given Watkin's inexperience as a historian and Butterfield's obsession with Acton, it seems likely he made a substantive contribution. Bentley, The Life and Thought of Herbert Butterfield, 237-239, 297-298.

⁴⁰² Watkin and Butterfield, 'Gasquet and the Acton-Simpson Correspondence', 76.

⁴⁰³ Ibid. 79, 88.

⁴⁰⁴ DA, GP, Letters relating to Acton, J.F. Weatherall to Gasquet (30 April 1906).

⁴⁰⁵ Watkin and Butterfield, 'Gasquet and the Acton-Simpson Correspondence', 76-77.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid. 76.

been manipulated to offer an apologetic narrative while, paradoxically, claiming to embody the John Bullish virtue of honesty.

Engaging with Intellectual Institutions; Withdrawing from the Mission

(1893–1901)

In 1893, Gasquet obtained permission to create a new English Benedictine Congregation house of studies in London to permit monks, chiefly Gregorians, to engage in detailed research using the resources of the British Museum and Public Record Office. This expressed Gasquet's belief in the importance of historical studies within the Benedictine tradition. Gasquet had thought this work might be compatible with residence at the existing English Benedictine Congregation mission at Dulwich, and Manning had supported this plan because of his belief in the importance of Gasquet's work to the Roman Catholic Church in England. However, Dulwich proved too far from the centre of London to make research practicable.⁴⁰⁷ Gasquet therefore set up an establishment, first at 4 Great Ormond Street from 1893 until 1907, and then at Harpur Street until 1914.⁴⁰⁸ The house was funded by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Emly (1812–1894), who, like Manning, approved of the special historical affinity that Gasquet proposed to inspire among English Roman Catholics by his labours there.⁴⁰⁹ Bishop lodged with him between 1893 and 1901, and these were both some of Gasquet's most

⁴⁰⁷ Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 117.

⁴⁰⁸ DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Edmund Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (28 July 1907), Gasquet to Bishop (11 October 1907); Shane Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 36.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. 36, 117; W.P. Courtney, 'Monsell, William (1812–1894)', rev. Matthew, ODNB.

productive, and Bishop's happiest, years.⁴¹⁰ Butler, Dolan, Norbert Birt (1861–1919) and Benedict Snow (1838–1905) also spent some time at this house of study, though it never seems to have had a large number of residents, nor (with the exception of Gasquet and Bishop) did it provide a core of Gregorian historical workers in the archives.⁴¹¹

Gasquet's attempt to develop a centre of historical research in London, twenty years before the foundation of the Institute of Historical Research at the University of London, signalled the increasing ambition of English Roman Catholics to engage with the academic structures of the English public sphere.⁴¹² It slightly anticipated the success of the campaign, led by laymen such as Baron Anatole von Hügel (1854–1928), resulting in Roman Catholics being granted permission to attend the national Universities in 1897.⁴¹³ This signalled a rejection of Manning's desire to create a separate and segregated institution of Roman Catholic higher education in England, motivated by his fear that the faith of young Roman Catholics would not be able to survive the liberal Anglicanism of Oxbridge. Manning was dedicated to offering higher education to promising Roman Catholic students

⁴¹⁰ Hugh Connolly, Edmund Bishop (The Press Printers: c.1917) 3; Abercrombie, Edmund Bishop, 220.

⁴¹¹ Parish of St Andrew Holborn above the Bars and St George the Martyr Census Register 1901, 246, 81, 34, 1901, <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 117.

⁴¹² Debra Birch and Joyce Horne, The History Laboratory: The Institute of Historical Research, 1921–96 (University of London: 1996); Bentley, Modernizing England's Past, 204–206.

⁴¹³ APF, NS 373b, *Propaganda Fide* to the Bishops of England (1897) 802r–803v; Peter Allott, 'Hügel, Anatole von (1854–1928)', ODNB.

regardless of their social background, in his abortive Catholic University College, Kensington.⁴¹⁴ However, this could not satisfy the increasing aspirations of wealthier Roman Catholics to enter the same intellectual and social world as their Protestant counterparts.

The closest parallel at the national universities to Gasquet's work in London was provided by the foundation of Benet House, Cambridge, from Downside in 1896, and of the institution which became St Benet's Hall, Oxford, from Ampleforth in 1897.⁴¹⁵ The creation of monastic halls at the ancient Universities was an assertion of continuity with the pre-Reformation habits of study of English Benedictines. Benet House was particularly close to Gasquet's vision of academic work as an essential part of the Benedictine vocation, since it was headed by his *confrere*, Camm, and was envisioned as a home for monks engaged in post-graduate studies within the university.⁴¹⁶ Even the name Benet House was intended as a continuation of pre-Reformation Roman Catholic practice in Cambridge.⁴¹⁷ From 1897, Cambridge was also home to St Edmund's House.⁴¹⁸ Like Gasquet's house of study this was financed largely by the Duke of Norfolk.

⁴¹⁴ APF, SRC 1867–70, *Anglia* 18, Manning to Alessandro Barnabo (c.1868) 738–739; Horwood, 'The Rise and Fall of the Catholic University College'.

⁴¹⁵ Jebb, 'Benet House Cambridge', 48–51; Anselm Cramer, 'St Benet's Hall 1897–1997', *EBH* 23 (1997) 34–49.

⁴¹⁶ Jebb, 'Benet House Cambridge', 48.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.* 48–49.

⁴¹⁸ Michael de Wolff, 'St Edmund's College, Cambridge', *Catholics in Cambridge*, ed. Nicholas Rogers (Gracewing: 2003) 272–276:274; Lubenow, 'Roman Catholicism in the University of Cambridge', *JEH* 59.4 (2008) 697–713:698.

St Edmund's was initially intended to support the education of secular clergy at the University, but soon became dominated by laymen. Lubenow has suggested that the way Roman Catholic university education was modelled in the establishment of St Edmund's, suggests a softening in anti-Catholic boundary forming among the educated public.⁴¹⁹ It is important to note that while Lubenow saw an essential conflict between the values of the Roman Catholic Church and the liberal university, after 1897 such antagonism occurred not as friction between the boundaries of separate, sectarian spheres of academic operation but within a single public discourse. This reflected a substantial step toward the popular acceptance of Roman Catholics' right to articulate previously proscribed religious views within the same academic world, and on the same intellectual terms, as their Protestant peers.

During the late 1890s, Gasquet became deeply involved in the revision of the statutes of the English Benedictine Congregation, in order to place the congregation on the same basis of abbatial independence as other Benedictine congregations within the Roman Catholic Church.⁴²⁰ This exhibited the desire of many within the Congregation to reflect how the Roman Catholic Church in England was shaking off the heritage of the English Mission. Returning to a life emphasising claustration and the self-reliance of abbeys was a way of signalling that Roman Catholicism was, after over three hundred years as a missionary faith in England, now capable

⁴¹⁹ Ibid. 710–713.

⁴²⁰ Bellenger, 'Religious Life for Men', *From Without the Flaminian Gate*, 142–166:147–148; Bellenger, 'The English Benedictines', 301–309; Augustine Clark 'The Return to the Monasteries', *Monks of England*, ed. Daniel Rees (SPCK: 1997) 213–234:230–233.

of being rooted once again in the nation's landscape. The monastic citadels were ready for re-establishment. The revision of the statutes of the English Benedictine Congregation was, therefore, drawing on a confident vision of the possibility that pre-Reformation patterns of monastic life were capable of resurrection in response to the declining anti-Catholic basis of English identity. The opening up of the English public sphere made it legitimate for monks to seek enclosure again. Butler wrote that those monks in favour of reformed statutes for the English Benedictine Congregation desired

that, in view of the altered politico-religious condition of England, it may enter more fully into the spirit of the monastic Rule of St Benedict ... [and] aim at nothing else than the application to present circumstances of the principles and methods that prevailed among the first two generations of the Restored English Benedictine Congregation.⁴²¹

Gasquet's involvement with the revision of the English Benedictine Congregation statutes considerably curtailed the time he devoted to historical writing. However, the cause was one he believed important as in accordance with a stricter interpretation of the rule of St Benedict. In 1899, under the apostolic constitution *Diu Quidem*, he was appointed to head the commission revising the statutes of the congregation, and this led to the promulgation of a new constitution for the English Benedictine

⁴²¹ Bellenger, 'The English Benedictines', 310.

Congregation in 1900.⁴²² In internal governance the abbeys became largely independent of the Abbot President and the congregation, and they gave up many of their mission parishes. After the death of O’Gorman in 1901, Gasquet was elected as President of the English Benedictine Congregation, becoming titular abbot of St Albans, and permitted the monks to begin withdrawing to their cloisters.

‘His historical works on the Reformation having made his name familiar to many ...’ (1903)

Gasquet was about to be thrust deeper into public life than ever before, because in 1903, after the death of Vaughan, he was hailed as the popular candidate to succeed Vaughan as Archbishop of Westminster. More than Gasquet’s personal popularity, the press coverage of the appointment process and their championing of his candidacy demonstrated how important his historical work was to the growing positive public interest in the Roman Catholic Church in England. Gasquet personified an image of the Church as engaged with modern developments in learning and offering a distinctive ethical contribution to English society. The press coverage of his candidacy showed how aspects of Roman Catholic identity were becoming an accepted part of England’s religious culture.

⁴²² DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Edmund Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (17 May 1899); Bellenger, ‘The English Benedictines’, 304; Clark, ‘The Return to the Monasteries’, 233.

When the chapter of Westminster assembled the list of three candidates (a *terna*) from which they desired the Pope to select their new Archbishop, Gasquet's name appeared as the second of them, behind Raphael Merry del Val (1865–1930, later Cardinal Secretary of State) and ahead of John Hedley (1837–1915), Bishop of Newport and Menevia.⁴²³ Merry del Val was an important curial figure, and despite having British descent, his unEnglish character would have emphasised an alien quality in the English Roman Catholic Church had he been appointed.⁴²⁴ It seems likely his nomination was motivated by flattery or was an expression of respect, rather than the sincere belief he would have been the best candidate for the Archbishopric. Merry del Val asked for his name to be withdrawn from consideration for the post, and the bishops' conference added a new name to the *terna*, that of Bourne, then Bishop of Southwark, in an effort to give the

⁴²³ Most historians suggest John Hedley headed this *terna*, followed by Gasquet and then Raphael Merry del Val. For an example, see Kester Aspden, Fortress Church: the English Roman Catholic Bishops and Politics, 1903–1963 (Gracewing: Leominster, 2002) 24. However, the order given in Hedley's account of the composition of the *terna*, and the canons' nomination to *Propaganda Fide*, is Merry del Val, then Gasquet and then Hedley. APF, CRS, NS 289 (1903) Hedley to Propaganda Fide (1903) 27, Ethedred Taunton to Propaganda Fide (1903) 24, Canons' Nomination of Archbishop of Westminster (1903) 29; Derek Holmes, 'Cardinal Raphael Merry del Val—an Uncompromising Ultramontane', CHR 60.1 (1974) 55–64; Alban Hood, 'Hedley, John (1837–1915)', ODNB.

⁴²⁴ The Duke of Norfolk wrote to Rome that Merry del Val was insufficiently English to become Archbishop of Westminster, since he was the son of a Spanish diplomat and his mother was of Scottish extraction. Norfolk thought Merry del Val and Gasquet were both too young for the post, and favoured Hedley because of his experience. After the election of Pius X in August 1903 Merry del Val became Cardinal Secretary of State. APF, CRS, NS 289 (1903) Henry Fitzalan–Howard to Propaganda Fide (12 July 1903) 33–35:35.

Pope the greatest choice in making the appointment. Bourne was strikingly young, and comparatively inexperienced as a bishop. The Times thought him the least likely candidate to be selected, since 'he has given no sort of indication that he possesses any conspicuous ability or that he has those special gifts which ought to distinguish a successor of Wiseman and Manning'.⁴²⁵ Hedley's appearance on the *terna* also surprised the press. Though he had broad intellectual sympathies and considerable experience as a diocesan bishop, he was much older than the other candidates, and indeed older than the three previous Archbishops of Westminster had been at the time of their appointment. The Westminster chapter felt Gasquet was a credible candidate for the See and noted his scholarly activities as an indication of this.⁴²⁶ The press, however, lauded him as the only possible candidate because of the profile his historical work had given him. The Manchester Guardian and The Times dismissed Bourne and Hedley to champion Gasquet as a candidate for the whole nation, Protestant and Catholic alike:

he is the only English Roman ecclesiastic who has a great reputation outside his own body, his historical works on the Reformation having made his name familiar to many. It is under these circumstances highly probably that ... the Roman authorities will select Abbot Gasquet for the vacant see.⁴²⁷

They implied that the way his historical work spoke to non-Catholics had lifted the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church out of its cultural

⁴²⁵ 'The Succession to Cardinal Vaughan', The Times 37161 (17 August 1903) 10.

⁴²⁶ APF, CRS, NS 289 (1903) Canons' Nomination (1903) 30.

⁴²⁷ 'The Churches', The Manchester Guardian (18 August 1903) 4.

isolationism. Non-Catholics felt they had a stake in the appointment of the Archbishop of Westminster for the first time, because the Roman Catholic Church was no longer an insular religious constituency. The Times emphasised that, because of this, '[i]t is most important that the new Archbishop should have a more than sectarian reputation'.⁴²⁸

A distinction between English Roman Catholicism, possessing many of the positive characteristics associated with English religiosity more generally and exemplified by popular public figures like Gasquet, and foreign Roman Catholicism, increasingly defined the attitude of the press. The boundaries of the English public sphere might not have been constrained by the concept of a Protestant national religion by 1903, but religions were still valued according to their expression of national identity. The Times believed Gasquet was the only candidate with sufficient charm to reconcile the English and Irish factions within the English Roman Catholic Church, but stressed his defiance of non-British Roman Catholics to emphasise his John Bullish qualities. The Times's jingoism demonstrated the destruction of the old equation between English Roman Catholicism and foreignness or treason:

In spite of his French descent it would be difficult to find a more typical Englishman ... [he] has shown great administrative and also diplomatic ability; by his skill and tact he carried through a scheme which has placed the English Benedictine houses on a secure footing, and saved them from a foreign yoke which would have ruined the Benedictine order in England. In this he has earned the

⁴²⁸ 'The Succession to Cardinal Vaughan', The Times 37161, 10.

opposition of the ambitious 'Abbot-Primate' of the Benedictines, but it is to be hoped that the Pope will not allow a Belgian abbot belonging to a German congregation to interfere in the appointment of an English Archbishop.⁴²⁹

In his letters to Bishop, Gasquet emphasised how little he desired the burden of the Archbishopric. If it had not been for the fact that his appointment would have shown that diocesan clergy and regulars could work well together, he claimed that he would have asked to be excused from consideration.⁴³⁰ 'the thought [of being appointed] comes back as a nightmare + as a thing impossible to face'.⁴³¹ Perhaps fortunately for Gasquet, because of the intervention of Cardinal Moran (1830–1911), Archbishop of Sydney, in the discussion of the appointment among the members of the council of *Propaganda Fide*, Gasquet was not selected to fill the post.⁴³² Moran's anti-regular views, which seem to have stemmed from succeeding a Benedictine in Sydney, led him to argue that neither Gasquet nor Hedley should be appointed.⁴³³ In the voting among the council of *Propaganda Fide*, Bourne won 5 votes, Gasquet 4, and Hedley 2, and Pius X therefore

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Edmund Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (10 July 1903).

⁴³¹ DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Edmund Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (15 September 1903).

⁴³² A.E. Cahill, 'Moran, Patrick (1830–1911)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, <http://adb.anu.edu.au>.

⁴³³ Knowles, 'Cardinal Gasquet as a Historian', 248; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 82–83, 85.

appointed Bourne to the See.⁴³⁴ Despite his desire to avoid becoming Archbishop of Westminster, Gasquet felt he had been snubbed by the circumstances surrounding the appointment, and hoped in compensation he would be called to further work in Rome.⁴³⁵ He was first, however, elected to two dignities which were far greater expressions of the esteem in which he was held by the English establishment than any curial office. In February 1903 he had been elected to the Athenaeum Club, with the support of Randall Davidson (1848–1930), Archbishop of Canterbury, under rule II.⁴³⁶ This was a procedure intended to permit the Club to elect those of outstanding merit to membership.⁴³⁷ He was also elected, at least twice, as a Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society.⁴³⁸ Though Gasquet was the figure most closely associated with the historical claims of the Church, the enthronement of Bourne as Archbishop still asserted the historical continuity of the Roman Catholic Church in England. There was a particular accent placed on the union of Bourne's ministry with Thomas Becket, who 'saved for England the heritage of faith and union with the Holy See'.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁴ DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Edmund Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (17 September 1903); 'Ecclesiastical Intelligence', The Times 37168 (25 August 1903) 4.

⁴³⁵ NLI, Shane Leslie Papers, MS 22859 Copies of Gasquet's Correspondence, Gasquet to David Fleming (31 December 1904) 27.

⁴³⁶ Mews, 'Davidson, Randall (1848–1930), ODNB.

⁴³⁷ DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Edmund Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (7 February 1903); Knowles, 'Cardinal Gasquet as a Historian', 247.

⁴³⁸ 'Royal Historical Society', The Times 39199 (18 February 1910) 10.

⁴³⁹ 'Ecclesiastical Intelligence', The Times 37277 (30 December 1903) 6.

Gasquet's intellectual legacy has already been hinted at in this chapter, and his diplomatic influence is explored in chapter IV of this thesis. Despite their examination in separate chapters, it is important not to see these as dissociated areas in which Gasquet's ideas proved influential. Both reflected the popularity of the same historical worldview, which Gasquet championed in order to return Roman Catholicism to a shared public sphere. The power of Gasquet's writing can also be seen in its influence over Roman Catholic social teaching. This was an area in which the historical consciousness Gasquet inculcated made a significant contribution to later national debates on working conditions and the rights of labour, and his responsibility for a long-term trend in English Roman Catholic social teaching therefore deserves attention. In particular, in view of Gasquet's closeness to Manning, the Archbishop's influence on the drafting of *Rerum Novarum*, and the neo-medievalism of this seminal piece of Roman Catholic social teaching, it seems plausible to suggest that Gasquet's work had a significant, though indirect, impact on *Rerum Novarum*.⁴⁴⁰

Catherine Merrell has described Gasquet as pre-eminent among a group of Roman Catholics writing on social questions at the end of the nineteenth-century, and pointed out that his writing on the monastic underpinning of medieval structures of charity convinced Manning of the medieval heritage of the Church's involvement in social relief in England.⁴⁴¹ There are striking

⁴⁴⁰ Merrell, 'The Late Victorian Roman Catholic Periodical Press', 6–7.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid. 39.

similarities between Gasquet's emphasis on the importance of viewing monasteries as the traditional guardians of charitable civil order and the content of *Rerum Novarum*, which called for a socially responsible and charitable religion which did not challenge the order of society. *Rerum Novarum* licensed the foundation of Roman Catholic workers' groups and, in turn, the focus of Gasquet's work turned to the structures of medieval guilds. This provided a historical justification for the increasing use of unions as structures advancing Christian socialism among Roman Catholics. The insistence that modern unions would benefit from a confessional basis and should draw on the structures of medieval guilds in their aspiration toward mutual charity defined the direction of a considerable portion of Gasquet's later work.⁴⁴² In these publications, Gasquet's claim to 'scientific' historical scholarship was allied with the Ruskinism that motivated other advocates of Roman Catholic social teachings, such as the appropriately-named periodical, *Merry England*.⁴⁴³

Perhaps most importantly for Roman Catholic identity in England in the inter-war period, Gasquet's work had a profound influence on Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953) and G.K. Chesterton (1874–1936).⁴⁴⁴ This chapter argues Gasquet's understanding of the relationship between the medieval Church and English society was the most important intellectual influence on Belloc and Chesterton's role in the Roman Catholic literary renaissance of the early twentieth-century, and in their formulation of distributionism as a

⁴⁴² Ibid. 188.

⁴⁴³ Ibid. 15–17.

⁴⁴⁴ Bernard Bergonzi, 'Belloc, Hilaire (1870–1953)', *ODNB*; Bergonzi, 'Chesterton, Gilbert (1874–1936)', *ODNB*.

distinctive Roman Catholic economic philosophy. Though the Cambridge medievalist and controversialist G.G. Coulton identified Belloc and Chesterton as co-heirs to a Roman Catholic school of history that Gasquet had founded, his accusation was based on a progressivist teleology and an strain of bitter anti-Catholicism.⁴⁴⁵ There have been no non-polemical attempts to demonstrate the immediacy of the relationship between Gasquet's work and Belloc and Chesterton's writings. Indeed, Vidmar has suggested Belloc owed overriding intellectual debts to Acton, Freeman and even Froude, but not Gasquet; equally, in his study of Belloc, James Lothian appears unaware of Gasquet's influence on Belloc's thought.⁴⁴⁶ The identification that this chapter makes between Gasquet's historiographical contribution and that of Belloc and Chesterton is based on a comparison between the themes of Gasquet's major historical monographs and Belloc's The Servile State and Europe and the Faith, and Chesterton's A Short History of England.⁴⁴⁷ These texts epitomised the politicised historical narrative Belloc and Chesterton articulated elsewhere, such as in Belloc's How the Reformation Happened and Characters of the Reformation.⁴⁴⁸ The

⁴⁴⁵ Alec Corio, 'The Development of G.G. Coulton's Critique of a Roman Catholic School of History', The Church on the Past, SCH 49, ed. Peter Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (Boydell: Woodbridge, 2013) 417–429.

⁴⁴⁶ Vidmar, English Catholic Historians, 137–138; Wolffe, 'Review: The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community 1910–1950', The American Historical Review (2010) 891.

⁴⁴⁷ Hilaire Belloc, The Servile State (T.N. Foulis: Edinburgh, 1912); G.K. Chesterton, A Short History of England (Chatto & Windus: 1917); Belloc, Europe and the Faith (Paulist Press: NY, 1920).

⁴⁴⁸ Belloc, How the Reformation Happened (Jonathan Cape: 1928); Belloc, Characters of the Reformation (Sheed & Ward: 1936).

resemblance this comparison reveals between Belloc and Chesterton's work and that produced about thirty years earlier by Gasquet is extraordinary. On a thematic, chronological and even a linguistic level, Belloc and Chesterton owed a demonstrable debt to Gasquet.

Lothian recently declared distributionism became the unifying principle of Roman Catholic and Liberal social thought in the period between the First and Second World Wars: 'the political and economic creed that bound the English Catholic intellectual community of the interwar era [together]'.⁴⁴⁹ However, before Belloc, Lothian wrote, no-one had challenged the confident progressivism of the 'great nineteenth-century Whig historians', and it had fallen to him to

convince the English that the medieval society of England was not necessarily inferior to that of the ... twentieth century, that one could find in the past a model for the future. English history would need to be radically rewritten'.⁴⁵⁰

Lothian's failure to acknowledge the debt distributionism owed to Gasquet, or to notice the many precursors of distributionist thought in Roman Catholic periodicals of the late nineteenth-century, is hardly surprising. Neither Belloc nor Chesterton seem to have publicly acknowledged the importance of Gasquet's work to their writings.⁴⁵¹ Belloc seems only to have praised Gasquet's work once.⁴⁵² However, Gasquet's understanding of

⁴⁴⁹ James Lothian, The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community 1910–1950 (UNDP: Notre Dame, IN, 2009) 2.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid. 43.

⁴⁵¹ Merrell, 'The Late Victorian Roman Catholic Periodical Press'.

⁴⁵² Belloc, 'An English Need', The Irish Monthly 68.804 (1940) 289–298:296.

the structures of medieval society, and the way this inspired him to emphasise a distinctive Roman Catholic response to contemporary social questions, provided an evidential and argumentative model for distributionism. Belloc and Chesterton simply re-articulated Gasquet's belief that the Church had regulated socio-economic relationships until the Reformation, arguing that, following that attack on the power of the Church, English society had become dominated by greedy men who had overturned the co-operative and charitable structures, chiefly monasteries and guilds, which had guaranteed the rights of the poor.⁴⁵³

Like Gasquet, Chesterton traced the origins of the nation to Joseph of Arimathea's visit to the holy site, Glastonbury, and the foundation there of a great abbey.⁴⁵⁴ In that act a nation sustained by the monasteries began to be formed. Chesterton emphasised that the monks were 'the key to our history', and on them he argued that social order, even institutions such as kingship, were founded.⁴⁵⁵ These, and the guilds that followed them, had provided medieval society with a social scheme for the salvation of body and soul, based in a strong communal ethic.⁴⁵⁶ Likewise, Belloc argued

the Church ... was ... the chief binding social force of the times.

Side by side with it went the establishment of the monastic

institution which everywhere ... formed the ideal economic unit for

such a period ... The great order of St Benedict formed a framework

⁴⁵³ Belloc, The Servile State, 1, 48–49, 64.

⁴⁵⁴ Chesterton, A Short History of England, 26.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid. 37, 38–39: 37.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid. 93–94, 98–99

of living points upon which was stretched the moral life of Europe.⁴⁵⁷

Both Belloc and Chesterton located the decline of English and European society in the selfishness and greed shown by Henry VIII and his placemen, which they saw as the sole causes of the Reformation.⁴⁵⁸ Further, Chesterton wrote that the central event in the establishment of the royal supremacy had been the unjustified dissolution of the monasteries.⁴⁵⁹ These dissolutions had established what he referred to as Cromwell's 'reign of terror'.⁴⁶⁰ The parallel between early Reformation England and the depredations of the French revolution had been drawn out in Gasquet's work; given the Gasquet family's opposition to the first republic, which left them homeless refugees, this was a powerful association. Seeing these effects of the royal supremacy as fundamentally destructive of the manner of all life in England up until that point, Chesterton lamented that the nation had been separated from the Church, its charity, and its past national identity:

There is a human and historic sense in which the continuity of our past is broken perilously at this point. Henry not only cut off England from Europe, but what was even more important, he cut off England from England.⁴⁶¹

Belloc and Chesterton declared that a return to medieval practices of property-holding would provide a remedy for the widespread poverty and

⁴⁵⁷ Belloc, Europe and the Faith, 187.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid. 232; Chesterton, A Short History of England, 149–150; Ker, The Catholic Revival in English Literature, 61–62.

⁴⁵⁹ Chesterton, A Short History of England, 143–144.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid. 147.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. 142.

discontent which troubled contemporary society. Bringing English society back to a way of life underpinned by Roman Catholic charitable civil order would bring it back to life.

One fascinating way that Belloc's historical writing did clearly deviate from Gasquet's work was in its epistemological justification. The accent Gasquet placed on his extensive archival research, which he claimed was conducted with 'scientific' impartiality, was abandoned by Belloc in favour of an assertion of the instinctual power of Roman Catholics to interpret history. Unlike Protestant progressives, who Belloc claimed were guilty of

the prime historical error of 'reading history backwards' [, the Roman Catholic] does not think of the past as a groping towards our own perfection of today. He has in his own nature the nature of its career: he feels the fall and the rise: the rhythm of a life which is his own.⁴⁶²

Belloc accused Protestant historians not merely of writing poor history, or anti-Catholic history, but of being themselves unhistorical.⁴⁶³ In contrast, he argued that Roman Catholics, because of the historical consistency of their religious identity, were good historians. The historian's role, to Belloc, was less to excavate a primary text from an archive, and more to exist as a primary text himself. He wrote that Roman Catholics

are of the faith and the great story of Europe. A Catholic as he reads that story does not grope at it from without, he understands it from

⁴⁶² Belloc, Europe and the Faith, xxiv-xxv.

⁴⁶³ Ibid. 2.

within. He cannot understand it altogether because he is a finite being; but he is also that which he has to understand.⁴⁶⁴

Belloc's claim, that Roman Catholics were not only in continuity with but inhabited the past, took Gasquet's assertion of the historical consistency of Roman Catholicism to an altogether more poetic but also a more arrogant level. Disdaining the tools of 'scientific' historical scholarship for such a bald assertion of historical privilege was polemically provocative. It implied an extreme confidence in the secure position of the Roman Catholic Church within the English public sphere. In claiming to possess such historical authority, however, Belloc may well have begun the process of undermining the popular credence which had been given to the historical claims of Roman Catholicism when they were surrounded by the scaffolding of 'scientific' authority erected by Gasquet. Belloc's provocative style of Roman Catholic polemic also made it easier for Coulton to discredit Gasquet's work. While Coulton's attacks on Gasquet's inaccuracies had a sound epistemological basis, they did not really begin to undermine Gasquet's reputation until they became associated with the extravagant idea that Gasquet had conspired in the foundation of a polemical Roman Catholic school of history, later represented by Belloc (who set out to provoke rather than to persuade Protestants).⁴⁶⁵ When combined with his instinct to manipulate historical material to enrage and outrage Protestants, Belloc's epistemological position dramatically weakened the reputation for historical

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid. viii.

⁴⁶⁵ Christopher Hollis, Along the Road to Frome (George Harrap: 1958) 79.

probity which Gasquet had laboured to annex to the Roman Catholic Church.

Until that point, Gasquet had possessed a wide intellectual influence. His historiographical innovations were adopted by his peers and successors. Though criticised for particular or obscure errors of fact from 1901, following a mistake he made about the authenticity of some relics of Edmund the martyr (*d.* 869), his reputation remained substantially intact until the later 1920s.⁴⁶⁶ Only following Gasquet's death in 1929 did Coulton's criticisms begin to strike home. Gasquet's work convinced Protestant historians such as Gairdner and H.A.L. Fisher (1865–1940) of the virtues of the medieval period and the vices of the Reformers.⁴⁶⁷ It may also have influenced, and certainly had similarities with, A.F. Pollard's (1869–1948) critique of Henry VIII's 'tyranny' and even R.H. Tawney's (1880–1962) approval for how the medieval Church had, by its social controls, limited the dangers of free commerce.⁴⁶⁸ Gasquet also provided an iconic model of supposedly reputable historical scholarship that other Roman Catholic writers could reference to establish their credentials as members of a faith that respected historical 'science'. He mentored a cadre responsible for reanimating historical studies within the English Benedictine Congregation, such as Bishop, Butler, Camm, Edmund Ford (1851–1930)

⁴⁶⁶ DA, GP, 890, Research: Research Problems, St Edmund's Relics, 1901, Draft Letter Gasquet to Vaughan (undated); Knowles, 'Cardinal Gasquet as a Historian', 258; Antonia Gransden, 'Edmund (*d.* 869)', ODNB.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid. 258; A. Ryan, 'Fisher, Herbert (1865–1940)', ODNB.

⁴⁶⁸ Bentley, Modernizing England's Past 51, 55; Patrick Collinson, 'Pollard, Albert (1869–1948)', ODNB; Lawrence Goldman, 'Tawney, Richard (1880–1962)', ODNB.

and Ethelbert Horne (1858–1952), and the Congregation later nurtured historians such as Adrian Morey (1904–1989), Watkin and, most obviously, Knowles (1896–1974).⁴⁶⁹ Gasquet also influenced non-Benedictine historical writers including T.E. Bridgett (1829–1899), who similarly contrasted Roman Catholic historicity with Protestant incompetence and innovation. Bridgett's attack on Protestant historiography for its lack of scientific rigour relied directly on Gasquet's work to demonstrate the prejudices which had long motivated anti-Catholic teleologies in English history.⁴⁷⁰

Outside this field of scholarly polemic, Gasquet even provided inspiration and eventually direct aid to the historical novelist R.H. Benson (1871–1914) who drew on Gasquet's work to imagine the traumatic events of Henry VIII's reign.⁴⁷¹ Benson's The King's Achievement, a novel which portrayed Henry's lust as leading to the Reformation, acknowledged Gasquet's help with its composition, and Gasquet's historiographical influence was also obvious in Come Rack! Come Rope!.⁴⁷² He was associated with other literary figures such as M.R. James (1862–1936) and Ronald Knox (1888–1957), in their attempts to re-popularise the medieval cult of Henry VI,

⁴⁶⁹ Bellenger, 'Dom Bede Camm (1864–1942), Monastic Martyrologist', Martyrs and Martyrologies, SCH 30, ed. Diana Wood (Blackwell: Oxford, 1993) 371–381: 379; C.N.L. Brooke, 'Knowles, Michael [*name in religion* David] (1896–1974)', ODNB.

⁴⁷⁰ T.E. Bridgett, Blunders and Forgeries: Historical Essays (Keegan Paul: 1890) 197–189.

⁴⁷¹ C.C. Martindale, 'Benson, Robert (1871–1914)', rev. Robert Brown, ODNB.

⁴⁷² R.H. Benson, The King's Achievement (Hutchinson: 1905) frontispiece; Benson, Come Rack! Come Rope! (Hutchinson: 1915).

providing England with a native patron saint dedicated to the reanimation of popular pre-Reformation piety.⁴⁷³

Conclusion

In addition to his influence over Roman Catholic social teaching, which has an enduring relevance today, Gasquet revolutionised the way English historians engaged with medieval society. Though the deficiencies of his historical writings are conspicuous, his work foreshadowed many of the most important historiographical developments of the later twentieth-century. In part this was due to his creativity in exploiting hitherto neglected source material. For example, Gasquet's Parish Life in Medieval England was one of the few precursors to G.R. Owst's work on medieval preaching. This early contribution to the field was recognised in the first reviews of Owst's Preaching in Medieval England, though a modern historiographical commentary has claimed that Owst was the sole originator of this specialism.⁴⁷⁴ In Parish Life in Medieval England, Gasquet also drew on the records of Morebath, Devon, to show the dedication of the parishioners to the decoration of their church and their control over its assets.⁴⁷⁵ Duffy has

⁴⁷³ Gasquet, The Religious Life of King Henry VI (GB: 1923); Gerald Kelly, 'James, Monaghan (1862–1936)', rev. Richard Pfaff, ODNB; Gilley, 'Knox, Ronald (1888–1957)', ODNB.

⁴⁷⁴ B.L. Manning, 'Review: Preaching in Medieval England', Journal of Theological Studies 29.113 (1927) 78–83:78; Carolyn Meussig, 'Historiographical Essay: Sermon, Preacher and Society in Medieval England', Journal of Medieval History 28 (2002) 73–91:74.

⁴⁷⁵ Gasquet, Parish Life in Medieval England, 41–42, 125–126, 134.

used the same sources in a far more satisfactory manner to demonstrate that Christopher Trychay's parish accounts offer a unique insight into the many changes affecting parish life throughout the early Reformation.⁴⁷⁶ Gasquet also anticipated later historians in his choice of subject matter and, because of this instinct for innovation, his account of the Black Death remained the standard work on the subject until the publication of Philip Ziegler's study in 1969.⁴⁷⁷

The originality of Gasquet's historical writing authenticated the increasing emphasis which the English Roman Catholic Church placed on its position in the historic life of the nation. This historical authority, relying on Gasquet's claim to have excavated and impartially presented evidence gathered through his archival research, underpinned the re-entry of Roman Catholicism into the English public sphere. When Gasquet started writing, a small number of historians held a positive view of early medieval monasticism, but even they accepted the criticisms of monastic morality which the Reformers of the sixteenth-century had used to justify the dissolution of religious houses. The popular consciousness was cut off even from these ambivalent evaluations of the medieval Church, and condemned modern Roman Catholicism because of the supposed immorality of its past. Gasquet changed that perception:

If in England today Catholics enjoy a place in the intellectual life of the country which is far different from that of the days when W.G.

Ward compared their relations to the Protestant world to those which

⁴⁷⁶ Duffy, *Voices of Morebath* (YUP: New Haven, CT, 2003).

⁴⁷⁷ Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (Collins: 1969).

exist between barbarians and civilised men, Gasquet had played his full part in effecting that change ... he broke down prejudice and misunderstanding.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁸ NLI, Shane Leslie Papers, MS 23, 402, red notebook, Morey's Reflections on Gasquet, 58.

CHAPTER III

CHURCH MILITANT: HISTORICISED POLEMIC AND THE CONDEMNATION OF ANGLICAN ORDERS

This chapter examines the intellectual framework within which *Apostolicae Curae*, the 1896 papal condemnation of Anglican orders as ‘absolutely null and utterly void’, was formulated and received.⁴⁷⁹ It does this through a close study of the major official texts that shaped and responded to *Apostolicae Curae*, paying attention to their historical content and the influence of particularist historical narratives on their composition. It also examines public statements and responses to the apostolic letter. The manoeuvrings, both eirenic and anti-ecumenical, which precipitated a papal investigation into the validity of Anglican orders, and some of the content of *Apostolicae Curae* itself, have been explored before, notably by J.J.

⁴⁷⁹ Leo XIII, ‘*Apostolicae Curae*’, *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, vol.29 (*Typographia Polyglotta*: Rome, 1897) 193–203:202. Quotations from *Apostolicae Curae* will normally be taken from the translation, Leo, ‘*Apostolicae Curae*’, *Anglican Orders: the Documents in the Debate*, eds Christopher Hill and Edward Yarnald (Canterbury Press: Norwich, 1997) 265–279. However, this renders ‘*irritas prorsus ... omninoque nulla*’ as ‘completely null and void’; rather than the more obvious (and resonant) ‘absolutely null and utterly void’. *Apostolicae Curae* was not composed by Leo XIII. However, it was undoubtedly issued and read as if he was its author. This attribution will therefore be maintained, and the apostolic letter’s composition will be fully explored later in the chapter. This convention has also been followed in the case of other official documents.

Hughes.⁴⁸⁰ Francis Clark, Gregory Dix, Giuseppe Rambaldi and George Tavard have also published monographs on the apostolic letter, but with a focus on how it serves as an obstacle to the Roman Catholic recognition of Anglican orders today.⁴⁸¹ This chapter therefore offers only a brief summary of the convoluted ecumenical background to the papal inquiry into the validity of Anglican orders. It moves on to make a more distinctive contribution by exploring the content of key official publications in the late nineteenth-century controversy over Anglican orders, tracing their intellectual relationship with the text of *Apostolicae Curae*. This demonstrates how the danger that was initially posed to the position of the Roman Catholic Church in England by the Pope's support for Church reunion was turned by the English Roman Catholic Church into an opportunity to engage in stinging anti-Anglican polemic. This allowed the Roman Catholic Church to define itself effectively against the Church of England, and particularly against Anglican ritualism, as the distinctive historical expression of English catholicity. There was a symbiotic relationship between the historicised inter-religious polemic centred on the

⁴⁸⁰ J.J. Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void: the Papal Condemnation of Anglican Orders, 1896* (Corpus Books: Washington D.C., 1968); Hughes, *Stewards of the Lord* (Sheed and Ward: 1970).

⁴⁸¹ Francis Clark, *Anglican Orders and Defect of Intention* (Longmans: 1956); Gregory Dix, *The Question of Anglican Orders: Letters to a Layman* (Dacre: 1956); George Tavard, *A Review of Anglican Orders: The Problem and the Solution* (Michael Glazier Books: Collegeville, MN, 1990); Giuseppe Rambaldi, *Ordinazioni Anglicane e Sacramento dell'Ordine nella Chiesa* (Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana: Rome, 1995). Other useful publications include William Franklin, ed., *Anglican Orders: Essays on the Centenary of Apostolicae Curae* (Morehouse: 1996) and the sources collected in Hill and Yarnald, eds, *Anglican Orders: the Documents in the Debate*.

Roman Catholic condemnation of Anglican orders, and the building of a confident English Roman Catholic identity.

The chapter argues that those texts issued by the English Roman Catholic hierarchy immediately before and after *Apostolicae Curae* were not just intended to bring about a papal condemnation of Anglican orders, or to destroy the ecumenical ambitions of Lord Halifax (1839–1934) and Fernand Portal (1855–1926), as Hughes maintained.⁴⁸² Instead, they were also a declaration that the identity of the Roman Catholic Church in England was centred on its historic witness against the Protestantism of the established Church. They functioned as polemical assertions of the value of a historically consistent, distinctively English, Roman Catholicism. This identity was authenticated by the English Roman Catholic Church's long-standing rejection of Anglican orders, and by its demonstration of that position using what was represented in these texts as the methodology of 'scientific' historical research. The popular credibility of that representation owed much to the way Gasquet had built up the historical reputation of English Roman Catholics over the previous decade, and to his archival investigations in Rome which were directly focused on finding evidence for earlier papal condemnations of Anglican orders. These texts also articulated a strident anti-ritualist sentiment, and this offered the English Roman Catholic Church an opportunity to distinguish itself from the historical inconsistency and innovation popularly associated with Anglican ritualism, and to join in the widespread public condemnation of ritualism as inauthentic and unEnglish. Roman Catholic collaboration in the 'othering'

⁴⁸² Peter Cobb, 'Wood, Charles (1839–1934)', *ODNB*.

of ritualism helped the English Roman Catholic Church to attack the Church of England for its deviation from the practice of the pre-Reformation Church, and at the same time to mock its incoherent approach to Protestantism, without provoking a popular anti-Catholic backlash. The texts issued by the English Roman Catholic hierarchy analysed in this chapter even helped to normalise Roman Catholicism, by demonstrating its historic integrity and its compatibility with an English public sphere which was coming to tolerate the co-existence of distinctive religious groups when these could be characterised by distinctive, straight-forward religious identities rooted in the national past. The chapter further argues that the campaign of the English Roman Catholic hierarchy for a papal condemnation of Anglican orders offered it a valuable opportunity to re-position the English Roman Catholic Church in its relationship with the Roman curia, and to emphasise its increasing capacity for autonomous government. The success of the Archbishop of Westminster, Vaughan, in his anti-Anglican agenda demonstrated the readiness of the English Roman Catholic Church for self-governance under canonical norms, as occurred in 1908.⁴⁸³

The chapter also offers a detailed exposition of *Saepius Officio*, the official Anglican response to *Apostolicae Curae*. It argues that this also relied on a historicised understanding of the relationship between religion and the life of the nation, though it appealed to a more complex and ultimately fragmented concept of catholic tradition than those Roman Catholic texts arguing for the papal condemnation of Anglican orders. *Saepius Officio* was

⁴⁸³ Gilley, 'The Years of Equipoise', 34.

founded on a more progressivist approach to the history of the medieval period, as pioneered by Stubbs and Creighton, and this recognised in a more sophisticated manner the limitations of contemporary knowledge of historic Church practice. Both Roman Catholics and Anglicans, however, were convinced that their Church possessed a monopoly on the articulation of religious truth to the English nation, and that this could be demonstrated particularly effectively in historical terms. The uninvested detachment through which Halifax and Portal hoped that the Churches could acknowledge a large degree of overlap in their understanding of the nature of ordination came into conflict with this exclusivist understanding of the essential character and operation of orders. Attempting to root ecumenicism in a discussion of the origins and historic conflicts of two denominations demanded great detachment in the historicist model of research, or an almost post-modern acknowledgement of positionality and subjectivity. The confident positivism of late Victorian 'scientific' history, particularly when it was co-opted by a polemical religious agenda, militated against highly self-critical approaches to historical study. Rather than being used to bring the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England close together, their historic antagonism was perpetuated in a polemical conflict over the nature of orders, and more importantly, of the Church in England.

Imprudent Ecumenicism (1890–1895)

Much of the secretive manoeuvring which occurred between 1890 and 1895 to try to bring the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church together in ecumenical conversations, and the campaign by English Roman

Catholics to derail this initiative by obtaining a papal condemnation of Anglican orders in 1896, has been detailed in Hughes's Absolutely Null and Utterly Void. This chapter's main focus is on how texts and public statements relating to the papal condemnation of Anglican orders demonstrated the intellectual conflict between Roman Catholic and Anglican constructions of the past, and the development of a more positive public attitude toward the assertion of a confident Roman Catholic historical identity in England. However, it will still prove helpful here to introduce the key figures in the late nineteenth-century controversy over the validity of Anglican orders, and to outline briefly the clash between ecumenical diplomacy and denominational agendas which precipitated the papal investigation into the validity of Anglican orders, and their condemnation.

While this chapter argues that Apostolicae Curae and its connected texts were motivated intellectually by the desire to assert a historically consistent English Roman Catholic identity, on a proximate level the papal condemnation of Anglican orders was the consequence of a naïve ecumenical initiative. This stemmed from the growth of the catholic party within the Church of England, and held out the hope of corporate reunion between Anglicans and Roman Catholics. Halifax, the chairman of the English Church Union and England's leading lay High Churchman, met Portal, a French Lazarist priest, in the winter of 1889–1890, when they were both on holiday in Madeira.⁴⁸⁴ Portal became interested in the catholic 'revival' in the Church of England, as he came to appreciate how close

⁴⁸⁴ Charles Wood (second Viscount Halifax), Leo XIII and Anglican Orders (Longmans: 1912) 8.

Halifax's personal religiosity was to that of French Roman Catholics. In the hope that their appreciation of this Christian fellowship could offer a model for the corporate reunion of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, Halifax and Portal decided to help theologians from both Churches to cultivate similarly fruitful relationships, which would incrementally draw the Churches to recognise that they desired a closer institutional alignment. Halifax and Portal hoped to create opportunities for theologians from both communions to meet together, to find common ground in areas where they seemed divided. This has, incidentally, been the model followed by the Anglican–Roman Catholic International Commission since 1969. Halifax and Portal hoped that a discussion of the validity of Anglican orders would be a suitable topic for the first in a series of bilateral conferences to which Anglicans and Roman Catholics could both contribute.⁴⁸⁵ They believed that a discussion of the Church of England's attitude to ordination would provide a straightforward way to begin their project of drawing the Churches closer together, since it seemed to them that the apostolicity of Anglican orders could be determined in a dispassionate manner, requiring only an informed reading of Anglican ordinals to arrive at the conclusion that the Church of England had intended to continue the orders of the pre–Reformation Church, and had therefore maintained a valid rite of ordination.⁴⁸⁶ Halifax and Portal felt that Anglican orders were sufficiently rooted in the historical record that there was no possibility that their examination could descend into theological polemic. However, their concentration on the issue took inter–Church discussions into a sphere where the concept of scientifically

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid. 122.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid. 10.

verifiable historical evidence was co-opted to support the opposition of irreconcilable sacramental theologies. Anglicans and Roman Catholics were both convinced that they possessed a monopoly on truth which could be demonstrated in historical terms.

To stir up public interest in Anglican orders preparatory to a joint discussion of their validity, Portal composed a treatise under the pseudonym 'Dalbus'. This was published in two parts in *La Science Catholique* in December 1893 and January 1894, before being issued as *Les Ordinations Anglicanès* later in 1894. In this text, Portal adopted the assumption that porrection of the instruments, where the ordaining bishop gives the ordinand a material symbol of the order they are being ordained to (in the case of a priest, a chalice and paten) was essential to the matter of the ordination rite.

However, by the 1890s it was seen as outdated to argue for the necessity of porrection, and Portal adopted this viewpoint solely to invite the correction of other scholars, and so build up a consensus within the academic community toward the recognition of the validity of Anglican ordinations.⁴⁸⁷ This was a disingenuous position for Portal to take up, and it shows how, from the beginning of the late nineteenth-century controversy over Anglican orders, polemical agendas exploited the conventions of scholarly behaviour in order to manipulate the way Anglican orders were interpreted in relation to historical records. Portal's account had the desired effect. It rallied historians to debate and defend the validity of Anglican orders, and this raised considerable interest in Rome in the modern Church of England. Portal's 'mistakes' regarding the importance of porrection were

⁴⁸⁷ Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 48–49.

corrected by the French Church historian, Louis Duchesne (1843–1922), in an article for the *Bulletin Critique* in July 1894. Duchesne pointed out that porrection could not be considered essential to ordination, since it had not appeared in Catholic pontificals until the late medieval period.⁴⁸⁸

Attempting to define sacramental essentials in this way, from their consistent use throughout the history of the Church, became another defining theme in the debates over the validity of Anglican ordinations.

In July 1894, Halifax arranged for Portal to visit England to learn more of the catholic revival in the Church of England. He visited a number of religious communities and met with Anglican bishops, including Edward Benson (1829–1896), Archbishop of Canterbury, William MacLagan (1826–1910), Archbishop of York, and Creighton, at that time Bishop of Peterborough.⁴⁸⁹ However, Portal did not meet Cardinal Vaughan while he was in England. It was later claimed that he had purposely avoided Roman Catholics on his visit, because they would have given him a more dismissive assessment of the catholicity of the Church of England than he was, by this time deeply influenced by Halifax, prepared to accept. His failure to respond to an invitation to call at Archbishop's House, caused by the loss of an invitation to a lunch party there, caused Vaughan to suspect that Portal was acting in an underhand manner in his investigation of the Church of England.⁴⁹⁰ With enthusiasm for Portal's understanding of the Church of England, and the possibility of ecumenical reunion, growing in Rome,

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid. 48.

⁴⁸⁹ Wood, *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, 88–104; Mark Chapman, 'Benson, Edward (1829–1896)', *ODNB*; Ward, 'MacLagan, William (1826–1910)', rev. Machin, *ODNB*.

⁴⁹⁰ Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 51.

Vaughan determined that the English Roman Catholic Church would have to ensure that its position and rights were respected by

Writing a strong letter direct to the H[oly] Father confining myself to the point that mischief beyond words will be done if any decision, as to A[nglican] O[rders] changing the practice of the Church for 300 years, be come to without the fullest investigation or without the cooperation of the representatives of the C[atholic] C[hurch] in England. I ask for a full Investigation and a Decision, but protest against this being attempted behind our back.⁴⁹¹

In September 1894 Portal was summoned to Rome to brief Leo XIII and the Cardinal Secretary of State, Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro (1843–1913), on the apparent desire of Anglicans for unity with Rome.⁴⁹² His reports of the strength of the catholic movement in the Church of England astounded and excited Leo, and in response to his enthusiasm, Portal suggested that the Pope might write to the Anglican archbishops, to propose a conference on Anglican orders that would allow representatives of both Churches to meet and begin to reconcile some of their difficulties.⁴⁹³ However, rather than taking this committing step, Rampolla wrote to Halifax, using him as an intermediary to communicate with Benson, and shortly afterwards Rampolla endorsed the idea of a shared historical investigation, a 'careful and

⁴⁹¹ Vaughan to Gasquet (7 August 1895) in *Ibid.* 299.

⁴⁹² Wood, *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, 119; Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 54–56.

⁴⁹³ Wood, *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, 120; Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 56.

profound study of former beliefs and practices of worship' as providing sure preparation for reunion.⁴⁹⁴

To ensure that the position of the English Roman Catholic Church was not made ridiculous by a Roman Catholic recognition of the validity of the Church of England's sacraments, Vaughan therefore had to out-manoeuvre the Pope in his initial enthusiasm for ecumenicism, and deal with the more durable commitment of the Cardinal Secretary of State to Church reunion. Merry del Val, at that time Papal Chamberlain and an opponent of Church reunion, found it difficult to counter the prevailing enthusiasm for ecumenicism in the curia, and to assert the rights of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England to be the Pope's principle advisors on such matters. In July 1895 he wrote to Vaughan that

with Card. R. against me it is hard work, I am alone entirely and I am nobody, he is the Card[inal] Sec[retary] and has numberless Italian and French Portals to back up his impressions ... I shall take the first opportunity of pointing out to the H[oly] F[ather] the difficult position you are gradually being placed in, as no longer authorised to declare what is the Catholic position.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁴ Wood, Leo XIII and Anglican Orders, 153–155, translated in Hughes, Absolutely Null and Utterly Void, 60.

⁴⁹⁵ Raphael Merry del Val to Vaughan (29 August 1895) in *Ibid.* 298.

Gasquet's credentials as a 'scientific' historian, and his enthusiasm for using archival sources in his works, were the key resource in Vaughan's rapidly-developing campaign to obtain a papal condemnation of Anglican orders, rather than enter into a programme of mutually-affirming conferences between Roman Catholics and Anglicans. Gasquet emphasised that, in combating the claims of Anglicans to possess a sacramental priesthood, historical writing could be seen to dispassionately dismiss the idea that the Roman Catholic Church had ever admitted such a thing, or that most members of the Church of England desired it. For that reason he advocated 'attack[ing] the question [of the validity of Anglican orders] from its common-sense side of cold blooded fact'.⁴⁹⁶ Like Vaughan, Gasquet viewed Anglican orders as invalid. He felt that the attempts of Halifax and Portal to initiate a joint examination of Anglican orders were intended to comfort Anglican ritualists who harboured doubts as to their validity, rather than to pave the way for Church reunion. Gasquet viewed ritualists as unfaithful to, or misunderstanding, the spiritual inheritance of the Church of England, even as he utterly repudiated what he believed to be its true, Protestant, character. He claimed that '[r]itualists would desire to bury in complete oblivion, namely the history + professions of the Anglican Church from its inception to the present day. This is Protestant in every sense of the word'.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁶ DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+ Edmund Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (17 August 1894).

⁴⁹⁷ DA, GP, 873 Anglican Orders, Draft Memorandum for the Pope, 6.

In January 1895 Vaughan travelled to Rome to combat the growing enthusiasm in the curia for any project that could be portrayed as likely to lead to the reconversion of England. On the orders of the Pope, Gasquet also travelled to Rome, where he was asked to provide Leo with a memorandum on the state of the Church of England and to contribute to the drafting of an apostolic letter on Church reunion.⁴⁹⁸ When Vaughan arrived in Rome, rumours were circulating that the Pope intended to allow officials of the Inquisition, or a secret commission, to pronounce on the validity of Anglican orders. However, Vaughan secured Leo's assurance that, if a commission was appointed to investigate Anglican orders, 'it should be open and representative, and that, of course, there should be Englishmen on it'.⁴⁹⁹ In preparation for this likely investigation, Gasquet was particularly concerned to gather Roman archival material which would clarify the Holy See's past practice toward Anglican orders, and support his contention that Anglican orders had already been ruled invalid by the papacy. By the time Halifax arrived in Rome, to conduct an apparently cordial series of meetings with the Pope and Rampolla, Gasquet had gained access to some of the Roman archives. He was already engaged in excavating the privileged primary source material he would use to make the case that Anglican orders had long been condemned by the papacy.

The Pope's philosophical commitment to harnessing historical research in defence of the faith (as shown in chapter II) and his desire to ensure that the

⁴⁹⁸ Gasquet, Leaves from my Diary, 4–5, 14–15, 17–18.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid. 26–28:28.

curia acted consistently in the matter of Anglican orders, meant that he sympathised with Gasquet's desire to determine 'scientifically' how the Roman Catholic Church had treated Anglican orders in the past. Leo's patronage was an essential factor in the success of Gasquet's archival research, since without papal intervention Gasquet would have been unable to gain access to documents in the archives of the Inquisition. Even after the Pope authorised him to see documents there relating to Anglican orders, Gasquet was kept waiting for over a month by Vincenzo Salua (1815–1896), titular Archbishop of Chalcedon and the Commissary of the Holy Inquisition. Becoming frustrated, he wrote an impatient letter to ask 'whether the Pope wanted me to see the papers or not'. Leo sent for Gasquet and, overruling the objections of the Inquisition, arranged for him to have a room in the Vatican in which to examine the documents in question.⁵⁰⁰ The Pope also told Gasquet how important his historical research was.⁵⁰¹ In an elaborated version of this story, which Gasquet retold in a lecture he gave at an American seminary in 1904, the Pope teased Gasquet for getting angry with him because he had not been able to see the archives he wanted. Like a magician, Leo then drew aside a tapestry to reveal a large box containing all the documents he wanted to examine.⁵⁰²

The material Gasquet was able to inspect following Leo's intervention included several past rulings by the Inquisition on the invalidity of Anglican

⁵⁰⁰ DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (c.21 April 1895); Gasquet, *Leaves from my Diary*, 19, 33.

⁵⁰¹ DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Edmund Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (21 April 1895).

⁵⁰² Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet*, 75–76.

orders. In the Vatican Secret Archives he also discovered a *bull* and brief of Paul IV, which had instructed Pole, taking up his duties as Archbishop of Canterbury and papal legate, that he was to view some orders as null, and that their status was to be determined from the form of the ordination rite that had been used to convey them. On 19 February Gasquet discovered the brief in the Vatican archives, and the next day the *bull* which the brief referred to, *Praeclara Charissimi*. Gasquet thought these were ‘of the highest importance in regard to the Orders question’.⁵⁰³ On 13 May, on his way home from Rome, Gasquet found a note in Pole’s register stored at Douai, attesting that Pole had received *Praeclara Charissimi*, and a copy of the *bull* itself. This proved that the *bull* had been promulgated, and had taken effect in England.⁵⁰⁴ Gasquet had proved that at least some orders conveyed according to the Edwardian ordinal had been condemned during the Marian restoration of communion between England and Rome.

The memorandum Gasquet prepared for the Pope, based on these sources, his knowledge of the history of the sixteenth-century Reformation and the contemporary Church of England, was not published, but it survives in draft form. It was an early precursor to the evidence he presented to the papal commission on Anglican orders, and eventually of the apostolic letter

⁵⁰³ Gasquet, *Leaves from my Diary*, 18–19:19.

⁵⁰⁴ Gasquet was prompted to search for evidence that Pole had received *Praeclara Charissimi* after suggestions in the press that it had never come into force in England. DA, GP, 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Edmund Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (14 May 1895); Gasquet, *Leaves from my Diary*, 36; Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet*, 78.

Apostolicae Curae.⁵⁰⁵ In the drafts of this memorandum, Gasquet outlined a formidable case against the validity of Anglican orders. He argued that differences in Roman Catholic and Anglican approaches to historical consistency and magisterial authority made the Churches fundamentally irreconcilable.⁵⁰⁶ Gasquet accused Halifax and Portal of misrepresenting the popularity and credibility of Anglican ritualism, and overstating the catholicity of the history of the Church of England, in order to convince the papacy that Anglicans had long desired reunion with Rome, when in fact a bitter opposition to Roman Catholic doctrines had distinguished most of the Church of England's history. Gasquet also claimed that the small number of Anglican ritualists who were attempting to leave behind the reformed traditions of the Church of England had not genuinely adopted the doctrinal basis of Roman Catholicism: 'both in doctrine and in apprehension of plain Catholic verities these persons, with all their good will have not yet learnt what the Apostle calls The Obedience of Faith'.⁵⁰⁷ Indeed, Gasquet argued that Anglican ritualists did not really want to enter communion with Rome:

the anticipation of the return of the Church of England to Catholic unity is a perfect chimera, as every one in the least acquainted with the state of England must at once allow. The High Church movement in itself has its own special aims, objects + interests +

⁵⁰⁵ These drafts are contained in DA, GP, 873 Anglican Orders. Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, *Ordines Anglicani: Expositio Historica et Theologica*; Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 81–82.

⁵⁰⁶ DA, GP, 873 Anglican Orders, Draft Memorandum for the Pope, 7.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 2.

does not in any [way] imply submission to the authority of the Holy

See.⁵⁰⁸

His draft memoranda argued that a Roman Catholic validation of Anglican orders would be used to justify the continued separation of Anglicans from the Roman Catholic Church. Because Anglicanism lacked a reliable historical or magisterial authority, ritualists wished to persuade the Pope to testify to their authenticity:

they desire [the recognition of Anglican orders] not with any design of bringing about a reunion with the Catholic Church, but to enable them to quiet the minds of many who are now gravely disturbed with doubts. It is rather a matter of practical politics than of religion.⁵⁰⁹

Gasquet portrayed his conclusions about the inauthenticity of Anglican ritualism, and the duplicitous motives of those who had suggested an investigation of the validity of Anglican orders as shaped by a detached and accurate understanding of the contemporary Church of England, and by 'scientific' archival research. He contrasted this epistemological basis for his writing with those other 'experts' who were willing to work without recourse to archival sources. On 20 April 1895 he had an audience with Leo, and the Pope asked why he had not yet submitted his memorandum. Gasquet replied that he could not write something without examining all the past documents concerning Anglican orders, and that he had not yet gained access to these. When the Pope pointed out that he possessed other

⁵⁰⁸ DA, GP, 873 Anglican Orders, Note on Dalbus' *Les Ordinations Anglicanes*, 3.

⁵⁰⁹ DA, GP, 873 Anglican Orders, Draft Memorandum for the Pope, 7.

memoranda which had been written without access to such documents, Gasquet answered 'I cannot say how others can give any opinion of value without knowing the facts, but I can't'.⁵¹⁰ Won over by this apparent desire for accuracy, Leo told Gasquet that, after reading Gasquet's memorandum, he had concluded Anglican orders were invalid, and any formal investigation of Anglican orders would have to 'confirm the practice of the Church and its practical judgement of the invalidity of Anglican Orders'.⁵¹¹ Merry del Val also credited Gasquet's historical work, and the cordial relationship he developed with Leo, with turning the tide against Halifax and Portal in the curia. In August 1895 he reflected on Gasquet's visit to Rome, and how curial opinion of the validity of Anglican orders had been altered by his advocacy:

I think we are pretty sure now by hook or by crook of getting the question properly sifted ... he [Leo] quite reckons with *you* now at all events and I am most thankful you came to Rome for this has been the corner of the wedge. Thank God for it all.⁵¹²

⁵¹⁰ Gasquet, Leaves from my Diary, 34.

⁵¹¹ Hughes pointed out significant inconsistencies between Gasquet's manuscript diary and Leaves from my Diary. He concluded that Gasquet had published false entries in Leaves from my Diary to reassure readers that the Pope had not made a decision about the validity of Anglican orders before the 1896 inquiry reported to him. Hughes, Absolutely Null and Utterly Void, 83–85:85.

⁵¹² Merry del Val to Gasquet (20 August 1895) in Hughes, Absolutely Null and Utterly Void, 300.

On 21 March 1895, Halifax entreated Leo to send a public letter to the Anglican archbishops, signalling his willingness to work with them toward Church reunion.⁵¹³ Instead, Leo determined to issue a public letter to the English people through the Roman Catholic hierarchy, asking them to pray for Church unity.⁵¹⁴ This letter, known as Ad Anglos, was chiefly composed by Gasquet, and he worked on the text with Bishop's help and Vaughan's advice.⁵¹⁵ Merry del Val also contributed to the text, adding the final paragraphs which entreated Roman Catholics to say the rosary for Church reunion.⁵¹⁶ This letter signalled that the dominance of Halifax and Portal's agenda at Rome had been overthrown. It was pacific, and it focused on the Pope's great affection for England and its religious excellence. However, the partial and fragmented narrative of English religious history which it articulated suggested that the papacy was no longer inclined to invest in the dialogue and mutual reception of traditions which Halifax and Portal had advocated.

Leo wrote that he had been 'moved by not infrequent conversations with your countrymen, who testified to the kindly feeling of the English towards Us personally, and above all to their anxiety for peace and Eternal salvation

⁵¹³ Hughes, Absolutely Null and Utterly Void, 79–80.

⁵¹⁴ Wood, Leo XIII and Anglican Orders, 120, 123.

⁵¹⁵ Drafts of the letter survive alongside Gasquet's memorandum for the Pope in DA, GP, 873 Anglican Orders. Hughes, Absolutely Null and Utterly Void, 81–82.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.* 90.

through unity of Faith'.⁵¹⁷ He hoped that, in response to these overtures, 'some effort of Ours might tend to assist and further the great work of obtaining the reunion of Christendom'.⁵¹⁸ The letter went on to articulate a highly confessionalised understanding of the historic relationship between the nation and the Roman Catholic Church, which *Ad Anglos* declared had been responsible for forming English national identity. The letter was rhetorically centred on an assertion of the historical coherence and consistency of the Roman Catholic mission to the English. Leo desired that all England should acknowledge its religious debt to Rome, and in gratitude return to communion with that centre of the Christian world.

Ad Anglos commended the recent development of more positive attitudes toward Roman Catholicism in England as 'a wonderful drawing of hearts and minds towards Catholic Faith and practice, which rose in public respect and esteem, and many a long-cherished prejudice yielded to the force of truth'.⁵¹⁹ Such an eirenic spirit, the Pope hoped, might slowly lead towards the reunion of England and Rome. For such an eschaton, the Pope exhorted the prayers of the faithful. Those who prayed for unity with their 'separated brethren' looked forward to mending an historic breach in the fabric of the Church on the anniversary of England's first evangelisation:

The time is not far distant when 13 centuries will have been completed since the English race welcomed those Apostolic men sent ... from this very city of Rome ... would that this occasion

⁵¹⁷ 'The Pope's Letter to the English People', *The Times* 34556 (20 April 1895) 10.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

might bring to all reflecting minds the memory of the faith then preached to your ancestors ... to remember those first preachers 'who have spoken the word of God,' to you, whose faith [you should] follow.⁵²⁰

Ad Anglos also reflected Gasquet's idealisation of England's medieval past, particularly its growing influence on those aspects of modern English society for which it signalled a particular admiration. The papal letter praised England for the way that mutual benefit societies had recently been established as an antidote to poverty, and for maintaining a religious basis to its education policy. The influence of Gasquet's historiographical innovations on the letter was particularly obvious in its praise for England's success in maintaining Christian liberty within a mutually-supportive society. *Ad Anglos* contrasted contemporary work toward this ideal with the economic and social bondage Gasquet believed had long followed the domination of English society by a Protestant oligarchy in the sixteenth-century.

Ad Anglos was generally well received, being affectionate in tone and flattering in its references to the glories of England's past and its present greatness. It even included admiring references to Britain's imperial power.⁵²¹ MacLagan welcomed the letter at the 1895 Church Congress as a 'cry for unity', which 'breathed from first to last a spirit of fatherly love'.⁵²² However, some politely negative responses to *Ad Anglos* were issued by

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

⁵²² 'The Church Congress', *The Times* 34703 (9 October 1895) 10.

English Protestant associations, and these viewed the letter as an illegitimate and threatening assertion of papal power. Strikingly, they conceptualised the letter in historic terms, as the latest of Rome's attacks in its long campaign to subjugate English Christianity.⁵²³ The Bristol and Clifton Protestant Association also sent the Pope a long, far from polite response to *Ad Anglos*. This began by castigating him for the cruelty and authoritarianism of the medieval Church.⁵²⁴ It also criticised the letter's construction of a narrative which stressed the Roman missionary origins of English Christianity. It claimed that

pure and undefiled religion began to take root in this land 400 years before Augustine crossed the sea ... Augustine suppressed the early Christian Church in this island, and prepared the way for those errors and excesses, which troubled this land and people until the time of the Reformation.⁵²⁵

The Bristol and Clifton Protestant Association's protest even included a totemic reference to King Lucius' establishment of a Church which was independent of Rome.⁵²⁶ This recalled the enduring power of Tudor declarations of England's ancient ecclesiastical sovereignty. The Bristol and Clifton Protestant Association reproached the Pope for his ignorance of such

⁵²³ For example, 'The Final Sitting of the Baptist Union...' *The Times* 34561 (26 April 1895) 11; 'The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Pope's Letter', *The Times* 34675 (6 September 1895) 4.

⁵²⁴ ASV, SS 1901, 66, 2, Bristol and Clifton Protestant Association to Leo (undated) 154–160:154.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.* 157–158.

⁵²⁶ See Heal, 'What can King Lucius do for you? The Reformation and the Early British Church', *EHR* 120.487 (2005) 593–614:613.

historical 'facts, which militate against the acceptance of any such reunion as is proposed'.⁵²⁷ The Bristol and Clifton Protestant Association's antipathy toward Roman Catholicism was expressed in terms of a counter-narrative of England's Protestant heritage which directly opposed Ad Anglos' invocation and interpretation of ancient papal jurisdiction in England.

Ordines Anglicani (1895)

In September 1895 an archdiocesan commission was formed by Vaughan to consider how best to argue for the invalidity of Anglican orders, in preparation for the expected papal investigation into the same subject.⁵²⁸ Vaughan's commission had twelve members, and an executive of three, David Fleming (1851–1915), a Franciscan, Gasquet and Moyes, who were asked to draw up a preparatory report for the papal commission. This was privately printed as Ordines Anglicani: Expositio Historica et Theologica in early 1896.⁵²⁹ At the core of Ordines Anglicani lay Gasquet's archival research into the Roman Catholic Church's historic treatment of Anglican orders, and a simplified account of the English Reformation. This owed a great deal to Gasquet's work with Bishop on the Edwardian Prayer Books: much of it was strikingly similar to Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer. Both the 'Historical Part' and 'Theological Part' of Ordines

⁵²⁷ ASV, SS 1901, 66, 2, Bristol and Clifton Protestant Association to Leo, 155.

⁵²⁸ J. Snead-Cox, The Life of Cardinal Vaughan, vol.2 (Herbert and Daniel: 1910) 194.

⁵²⁹ WDA 2.83, Merry del Val to Bourne (4 February 1927); Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, Ordines Anglicani, translated as 'Anglican Orders. A Historical and Theological Exposition', Anglican Orders: the Documents in the Debate, 151–198.

Anglicani focused on the historical context within which the Edwardian ordinals of 1550 and 1552 – the first English Protestant ordination rites – had been formulated, attacked, and re-instituted.⁵³⁰ Because of its focus on Edwardian liturgical changes, Ordines Anglicani implied that the Henrician period, which Gasquet had established was of pivotal importance to the English Reformation in Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, had not witnessed a fundamental change in the traditional religious basis of English society.

Hughes proposed that the ‘strongly polemical’ Ordines Anglicani formed the basis of the arguments of those English members of the papal commission who were in favour of a ruling that Anglican orders were invalid: Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, again.⁵³¹ Hughes also claimed that the process of composing Ordines Anglicani meant the arguments of Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes for the invalidity of Anglican orders were much better prepared than those of other members of the papal commission, especially those who believed Anglican orders might be valid.⁵³² However, he does not appear to have remarked on the clear correspondence between Ordines Anglicani and the agendas of individual meetings of the papal commission on Anglican orders (or at least, because of the impossibility of accessing its minutes, the information on its agendas which can be gleaned from Lacey and Gasquet’s diaries, a letter from Merry del Val to Moyes, and the report of Raffaele Pierotti (1836–1905), Master of the Sacred

⁵³⁰ Ibid. 159–186, 186–196.

⁵³¹ Hughes, Absolutely Null and Utterly Void, 121, 122:122

⁵³² Ibid. 146.

Apostolic Palace, on the conclusions of the papal commission).⁵³³ The papal commission discussed the same subjects as *Ordines Anglicani*, and even did so in the same order as they appeared in its text. This strongly suggests that, in addition to providing the English ‘invalidists’ with their arguments, *Ordines Anglicani* was used to determine the agenda of the papal commission on Anglican orders, probably as a result of its circulation to the commission’s secretary, Merry del Val. At the end of the papal commission, *Ordines Anglicani* appears to have been submitted as the *vota* of the English invalidist members of the papal commission, summarising their views for Pierotti’s report to the Cardinals of the Inquisition, and the Pope.⁵³⁴ Its arguments again defined the scope of Pierotti’s report, and heavily influenced the text of *Apostolicae Curae*; they also reappeared in an edited form in *A Vindication of Apostolicae Curae. Ordines Anglicani’s* unyielding historiographical opposition to a Roman Catholic recognition of Anglican orders was immensely influential, both argumentatively and textually.

⁵³³ The minutes of the commission’s meetings may be in the archives of the Holy Office, but these are not open to researchers. Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 149–150; Hill and Yarnald, ‘Introduction’, *Anglican Orders: The Documents in the Debate*, xi. T.A. Lacey, *A Roman Diary* (Longmans: 1910) 30–62; Gasquet, *Leaves from my Diary*, 45–63; Merry del Val to Moyes (13 December 1910) in Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void* 300–304:301; Raffaele Pierotti, ‘*Relazione e voto del Raffaele Pierotti, O.P., Maestro del S. Palazzo Apostolico sulle Ordinazioni Anglicane*’, ed. Rambaldi, *Archivum Historicarum Pontificiarum* 20 (1982) 337–388, translated as ‘Concerning the Episcopal Consecration and the Sacred Ordinations among the Anglicans’, *Anglican Orders: the Documents in the Debate*, 201–263.

⁵³⁴ WDA 2.83, Merry del Val to Bourne (4 February 1927); Hill and Yarnald, ‘Introduction’, *Anglican Orders: the Documents in the Debate*, 4.

A brief outline of the arguments *Ordines Anglicani* marshalled to demonstrate the invalidity of Anglican orders will demonstrate the importance of Gasquet's archival research and historiographical influence, and the authority of historical precedent more generally, to the entire process leading to the 1896 condemnation of Anglican orders. *Ordines Anglicani* began by claiming that the validity of Anglican orders 'cannot be in any sense described as a *new* question, as it has been investigated, weighed and settled by the Holy See with great precision on several occasions in the past'.⁵³⁵ These eight previous settlements included papal *bullae* and responses to those *bullae* dating from the Marian period; investigations of the orders of individual Anglicans by the Inquisition; and a response from the Inquisition to an inquiry from Manning about the status of Anglican orders.⁵³⁶ *Ordines Anglicani* argued these had established precedents for the way the Roman Catholic Church had to treat Anglican orders, regardless of how the Church of England's attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church might have changed in the late nineteenth-century. Its claim that the Roman Catholic Church must maintain an unchanging policy of rejection toward Anglican orders invited comparisons with the magisterium's infallible opposition to errors of doctrine. In addition, the assertion that the Church was bound to consider these precedents when investigating the status of contemporary Anglican orders rooted the primary stage of any investigation of the validity of Anglican orders in their earliest condemnations, and therefore in the history of the early English

⁵³⁵ Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, 'Anglican Orders', 151.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.* 151–156.

Reformation. This allowed the authors of *Ordines Anglicani* to show that the Roman Catholic rejection of Anglican orders did not rely on traditions such as the Nag's Head fable: they distanced their appeal for a new condemnation of Anglican orders from any such 'ignorance or distortion of historical fact'.⁵³⁷ They implied that, in contrast, the sixteenth-century condemnations of Anglican orders were privileged primary sources. They provided a trustworthy model of how to view Anglican orders, since they were informed by a close understanding of the religious situation of Edwardian England, the beliefs of the first Anglican reformers and their Roman Catholic counterparts. *Ordines Anglicani* was based on the assumption that contemporary Church policy should not only be informed by an awareness of its historical context; it should be determined in keeping with a rigid understanding of its history, and bound to perpetuate past inter-religious conflicts.

Ordines Anglicani argued that the bull *Praeclara Charissimi* and Pole's implementation of its instructions, and the Inquisition investigations of 1685 and 1704, had authoritatively determined that the Anglican ordinals were defective in both form and intention. They were therefore incapable of being used to ordain.⁵³⁸ Though it authenticated the past condemnations of Anglican orders according to the authority of the papacy, a study of *Ordines Anglicani* made it clear that these had been informed, interpreted and enforced by Englishmen. This was an assertion of the English Roman Catholic Church's competency to declare again the invalidity of Anglican

⁵³⁷ Ibid. 153, 156:156.

⁵³⁸ Ibid. 152–154, 156.

orders, based on its faithfulness to Rome's past decisions and recent 'thorough, precise and scientific research' into the circumstances of those decisions.⁵³⁹ *Ordines Anglicani* claimed that the historic witness of the English Roman Catholic Church to the invalidity of Anglican orders was based on its respect for historical continuity, combined with a command of the practices of 'scientific' historical scholarship. The defining historical consciousness of the English Roman Catholic Church was juxtaposed with deficiencies in the Church of England's claims to historical continuity, and *Ordines Anglicani* particularly attacked Anglican ritualism for its lack of historical integrity. *Ordines Anglicani* consistently referred to ritualism as 'neo-Anglicanism', mocking it for its novelty and incoherence even when compared to the other traditions of a Protestant, post-Reformation Church that it condemned.⁵⁴⁰ It stated that ritualists were motivated by the foolish

hope that by imitating the beauty and splendour of Catholic liturgy they will exercise a greater attraction and influence over people's souls. Above all they do everything they can to gain the reputation for a venerable antiquity ... and consequently lay claim to all the achievements and glories of the ancient Church of England.⁵⁴¹

This was intended to undermine Halifax and Portal's claim that the Anglo-Catholic movement was an expression of the genuine catholicity of the Church of England and of its long-held desire for reunion with Rome.

⁵³⁹ Ibid. 157.

⁵⁴⁰ Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 125–126, 135.

⁵⁴¹ Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, 'Anglican Orders', 167–168.

Following the enumeration of the eight past condemnations of Anglican orders, the 'Historic Part' of *Ordines Anglicani* attempted to demonstrate how a defective intention had been manifested through Anglican ordinals. It did this by offering a historical account of the origins of the Church of England in the early Reformation period. This narrative contrasted the consistency of English Roman Catholicism, in its connection with the pre-Reformation Church and its condemnation of Anglican orders, with the Church of England's abandonment of a genuine aspiration toward doctrinal continuity with the pre-Reformation Church and its sacraments. *Ordines Anglicani* heavily emphasised the debt Cranmer's sacramental theology owed to 'Lutheran and Zwinglian Reformers', which was reflected in the liturgical changes he had made in the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books.⁵⁴² *Ordines Anglicani* argued that, in these, Cranmer had imported foreign and rootless doctrines into the English Church, and that his Prayer Books were 'essentially new, of recent composition, and derived from the writings of the German Reformers'.⁵⁴³ *Ordines Anglicani* demonstrated the Reformed intention of the Prayer Books by first listing them and then printing a table showing the differences between the Eucharist in the Sarum rite and the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books in its appendices.⁵⁴⁴ Its second appendix

⁵⁴² Ibid. 160–162.

⁵⁴³ Ibid. 162. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁴⁴ The changes *Ordines Anglicani* listed between the Sarum and 1549 Prayer Book Eucharistic liturgies, and the format of its tables, are very similar to those included in Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*. The appendices to *Ordines Anglicani* are not included in the English translation. Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, *Ordines Anglicani*, 62–65, 87–112; Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, 199–212.

showed, through a long series of quotations, that those who had composed the Anglican liturgies, and their successors, had been united in their rejection of real presence, actual and propitiatory sacrifice, and priestly sacrifice, in the Eucharist.⁵⁴⁵ *Ordines Anglicani* claimed that, because of his advocacy of such Reformed views, Cranmer had purposely gutted the Mass. In his composition of the 1549 Eucharist, '[e]very indication of the real and objective presence ... [was] changed or removed'.⁵⁴⁶ The 1552 prayer book was the linear development of this trend, and *Ordines Anglicani* stated that it brought the Church of England into complete conformity with Calvinist teaching on the Eucharist.⁵⁴⁷ *Ordines Anglicani* asserted that, because of his hostility to the Mass, Cranmer had formulated the 1550 and 1552 ordinals to exclude any possibility of ordaining a priest in continuity with the pre-Reformation Church's succession, or its understanding of priesthood. *Ordines Anglicani* even alleged that Cranmer had denied ordination had any historic or sacramental significance, and that he wanted to preserve the 'merely extrinsic character of ministry' by retaining the names of the three historic orders so that the pastors and preachers of his new Church would be socially respectable.⁵⁴⁸

The 'Historic Part' of *Ordines Anglicani* then examined English reactions to Cranmer's liturgical changes during the Marian reconciliation of England and Rome. It argued that, once Mary had reinstituted traditionalist bishops, they had rejected Edwardian orders and sacraments, and that in his position

⁵⁴⁵ Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, *Ordines Anglicani*, 71–86.

⁵⁴⁶ Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, 'Anglican Orders', 174.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 176.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 175.

as papal legate, Pole had treated episcopal and priestly orders conveyed by the Edwardian rites as invalid.⁵⁴⁹ *Ordines Anglicani* claimed that after receiving the instructions of Paul IV in *Praeclara Charissimi* and its accompanying brief, Pole had published legatine constitutions which defined the Roman pontifical as the only form capable of conveying orders. This went beyond *Praeclara Charissimi*'s text, which stated only that a bishop must be ordained in the form of the Church. Pole, 'acting according to the mind of the Pontiff' and the sacramental principles later enshrined at the Council of Trent, understood this criteria to apply to other orders of Anglican ministry too.⁵⁵⁰ *Ordines Anglicani* argued that he had understood correctly. In its sixth appendix, it gave further details of Pole's treatment as laymen of some clergy who were ordained according to Edwardian rites.⁵⁵¹

Following the succession of Elizabeth, and the 'Restoration of the Reformation', *Ordines Anglicani* argued that Edwardian rites were readopted in their most Protestant form in order to destroy papal authority over the Church of England.⁵⁵² Since those who were loyal to the Mass refused to co-operate with the Elizabethan Reformation, even to consecrate bishops for the reformed Church of England, *Ordines Anglicani* was able to throw further doubt on the apostolic succession of the Elizabethan episcopate, and therefore of the modern Church of England. In addition to reinforcing its claim that the Church of England did not really value catholic continuity, the separate case *Ordines Anglicani* made for the invalidity of

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid. 178–179.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid. 180.

⁵⁵¹ Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, *Ordines Anglicani*, 172–181.

⁵⁵² Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, 'Anglican Orders', 180–181:180.

Matthew Parker's (1504–1575) consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury might have provided supplementary grounds for the condemnation of the validity of Anglican orders, if the papal commission ruled that the form or intention of the Anglican rite might be sufficient to ordain.⁵⁵³ That is why *Ordines Anglicani* made much of the frankly feeble case, that Parker had not really been consecrated because his principal consecrator had never received any form of consecration.⁵⁵⁴ *Ordines Anglicani* argued that Parker's consecrator, William Barlow (d.1568), at that time Bishop-elect of Chichester, had probably never been consecrated, since he had made declarations against the necessity of consecration before functioning as a bishop, and because there were only limited archival traces of the beginning of his episcopal ministry.⁵⁵⁵ *Ordines Anglicani* clearly considered this argument to be more credible than rumours such as the Nag's Head fable, possibly because there were no detailed contemporary accounts of Barlow's consecration, as there were of Parker's. Barlow's status, according to *Ordines Anglicani*, meant that the apostolic succession of the Church of England was 'subject to ... grave doubts ... [since] there can be no moral certainty that any defect in the principle consecrator could have been set right by ... the other assistant bishops'.⁵⁵⁶ In the end, the papal commission

⁵⁵³ David Crankshaw and Alexandra Gillespie, 'Parker, Matthew (1504–1575)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁵⁴ Hughes believed Parker's status as the 'link between the old papal hierarchy and the new English one' made him and his principal consecrator a target for this attention. Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 21–24, 134:24.

⁵⁵⁵ In 1823 Lingard had dismissed Roman Catholic suspicions that Barlow had not been consecrated as unrealistic. Lingard, *The History of England*, vol.6 (JCN: 1883) 668–673; Glanmor Williams, 'Barlow, William (d. 1568)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁵⁶ Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, 'Anglican Orders', 186.

devoted very little time to discussing Barlow's possible non-consecration. It was discussed after the main business of the commission had occurred, for most of the morning of 21 April and for an hour or so on 25 April.⁵⁵⁷ Both the commission and Pierotti saw it as a distraction from their consideration of deficiencies in the form and intention of Edwardian ordination rites. Pierotti wrote that it could not be proved certainly that Barlow had been consecrated, but that hardly mattered since 'it is historically certain that Parker was made bishop with the Edwardine form' which was invalid because of its defective form and intention.⁵⁵⁸

Ordines Anglicani attempted to distinguish between its 'Historical Part' and 'Theological Part'. The former described some of the circumstances under which Anglican orders had previously been condemned, and provided an account of the Protestant origins of the modern Church of England. It demonstrated how, in the estimation of Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, early Anglicans had understood orders and sacraments in a radically different way from the pre-Reformation Church, and argued that Cranmer had intended to purge the Church of England of its association with a sacrificing priesthood through new ordination and Eucharistic liturgies. *Ordines Anglicani* concluded that its historical argument had clearly shown how the ordination rites of the Church of England had the 'proclaimed intention of mutilating the existing Catholic rites and obliterating their Catholic development'.⁵⁵⁹ Rather than intending to do what the Church does at ordination, in a way

⁵⁵⁷ Gasquet, *Leaves from my Diary*, 55, 58.

⁵⁵⁸ Pierotti, 'Concerning the Episcopal Consecration', 239.

⁵⁵⁹ Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, 'Anglican Orders', 186.

that was necessary for the validation of a sacrament, Cranmer's 'denials and heresies ... constitute[d] the 'Intention of the Rite'.⁵⁶⁰

In the much shorter 'Theological Part' of *Ordines Anglicani*, the authors adopted a liturgical focus as they attempted to demonstrate the invalidity of the Anglican form of ordination. However, a great deal of information already presented in the 'Historical Part' was repeated, showing that *Ordines Anglicani* was well served, and yet constrained, by its historical paradigm. The 'Theological Part' offered a brief comparison between those early ordination rites accepted by the Roman Catholic Church, and the Edwardian ordinal. The difficulty of defining an essential form for the transmission of orders from a multitude of different and evolving rites, many of which the contemporary Roman Catholic Church recognised as valid, meant that it was easiest for the 'invalidists' to point out what Cranmer had subtracted from these early rites and the Roman Pontifical in the composition of his ordinals. Cranmer's removal of material demonstrated, *Ordines Anglicani* argued, his lack of respect for the ancient rites of the Church. It also contravened the liturgical principle that in modifying sacramental rites, nothing should be subtracted, in case the essential form or matter was impaired. *Ordines Anglicani* argued that Cranmer's omissions had removed the valid form of ordination, and replaced it with a new form reflecting Cranmer's 'heretical opinions'.⁵⁶¹ Through a demonstration of the way the Anglican ordinal had evolved, the 'Theological Part' concluded that 'the "form" [of Anglican priestly and

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid. 185. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid. 188–189, 190–192, 191, 195.

episcopal ordination] is totally insufficient, and therefore is not “the form of the Church””.⁵⁶² Just as Cranmer intended, it was incapable of being used to ordain real members of the three historic orders of ministry.

The Papal Commission (1896)

In the spring of 1896, Leo convened a commission to consider the validity of Anglican orders, with its membership split between those who believed Anglican orders were not valid, and those who supported a tentative ruling for their validity. The executive of the Westminster commission and Calasanzio de Llaveneras, a Consultor to the Inquisition, tended toward the former view. Duchesne; Pietro Gasparri (1852 – 1934, later Cardinal Secretary of State) a canonist; Emilio de Augustinis, a theologian; and T.B. Scannell, a parish priest from Sheerness, Kent, were more sympathetic to the possibility of recognising Anglican orders. The commission was chaired by Cardinal Mazella (1833–1900) and Merry del Val was appointed as its secretary.⁵⁶³

The sessions of the commission were constrained by their discussion of those historical precedents identified in *Ordines Anglicani* as binding the Roman Catholic Church to its policy of condemnation of Anglican orders. The commission’s sessions began with a discussion of the practice of the Roman Catholic Church in its treatment of Anglican orders, and the origins

⁵⁶² Ibid. 191, 192.

⁵⁶³ Ibid. 202–203.

of that practice.⁵⁶⁴ The commission then discussed the *bull* and brief of Paul IV, and the Inquisition's decisions in 1684 and 1704.⁵⁶⁵ It then moved on to consider the historic practice of re-ordaining Anglican ministers in a wider context.⁵⁶⁶ The next meeting and a half focussed on the consecration of Bishop Barlow.⁵⁶⁷ The commission then moved on to consider the Anglican ordination rite, particularly interesting itself in the form used in the 1552 ordinal, debating whether the collect in the rite of consecration provided a sufficient matter, and whether – if it did – it was morally united with the laying on of hands that was the form of the rite.⁵⁶⁸ A discussion of the Anglican ordinal as a whole followed, and the commission concluded its business with two meetings to vote on and approve its *acta*.⁵⁶⁹ Over these twelve meetings, the commission's focus was on those historical factors which had governed the past treatment of Anglican orders by the Roman Catholic Church. It considered the historical context in which Anglican orders had been condemned in the past, the possibility that there had been a breach in the apostolic succession of the Anglican episcopate in the Elizabethan restoration, and the text of the ordinal. At the end of the commission, Mazella called the members to submit their opinions on a number of questions which had been discussed, and to vote on whether they considered Anglican orders valid. Merry del Val recalled that 'they were as

⁵⁶⁴ Gasquet, Leaves from my Diary, 51.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid. 52.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid. 52–53.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid. 55, 58; Lacey, A Roman Diary, 31–33, 50–51; Merry del Val to Moyes (13 December 1910) in Hughes, Absolutely Null and Void, 301.

⁵⁶⁸ Gasquet, Leaves from my Diary, 58, 61; Lacey, A Roman Diary, 51–52.

⁵⁶⁹ Gasquet, Leaves from my Diary, 61–62.

follows: Gasquet, Moyes, David and Llaveneras voted for the invalidity, Duchesne and De Augustinis for the validity. Gasparri and Scannell for a doubtful validity and therefore a [re-ordination] “*sub-conditione*”.⁵⁷⁰

Active historical research continued during the papal commission on Anglican orders, which the Pope convened in March 1896. When Gasquet was summoned to Rome to attend the commission, Mazella urged him to ensure that the commission considered the validity of Anglican orders ‘in the light of historical evidence; the theological side must be combined with the consideration of the facts’.⁵⁷¹ Gasquet therefore returned to the Vatican archives to search for more documentary evidence of how Anglican orders had been treated by the papacy in the past, in order to reinforce the historic boundaries *Ordines Anglicani* had already established for the deliberations of the commission. On Palm Sunday 1896, he discovered a petition from Pole in the Vatican archives, which clarified the meaning of a papal *bull* (probably *Praeclara Charissimi*) which the commission were debating at the time.⁵⁷² He also examined seventeenth-century material in the Inquisition archives in order to clarify contemporary Roman attitudes toward the differences between conditional and absolute re-ordination.⁵⁷³ Those who desired the validation of Anglican orders examined English archives to clarify the deliberations of the commission. During the

⁵⁷⁰ Merry del Val to Moyes (13 December 1910) in Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 302. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁷¹ Gasquet, *Leaves from my Diary*, 40, 43.

⁵⁷² DA, GP 1993 Correspondence Gasquet+Bishop, Gasquet to Bishop (7 April 1896); Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet*, 64.

⁵⁷³ Gasquet, *Leaves from my Diary*, 56.

commission W.H. Frere (1863–1938, later Bishop of Truro) discovered that some names recurred in Edmund Bonner's (c1500–1569), Bishop of London, ordination register, and suggested that this might indicate some men were re-ordained by him because he did not recognise the validity of Edwardian orders.⁵⁷⁴ He passed this information to Lacey and Puller, who also received information from E.G. Wood (c.1842–1931), vicar of St Clement's, Cambridge, during the papal commission, that clarified the documentary evidence for Barlow's consecration.⁵⁷⁵ In both cases, though it did not necessarily help the Anglican case, they immediately communicated their findings to the members of the commission, but it is not clear whether this archival material was discussed in its sessions. The commission's concentration on historical questions ensured its conclusions were bounded by the strength of Gasquet's reputation and his archival researches.

Following the conclusion of the commission, Puller and Lacey published a supplement to *De Hierarchia*, their Latin defence of the validity of Anglican orders, and Gasquet and Moyes responded with *Risposta all'Opuscolo 'De Re Anglicana'*.⁵⁷⁶ Gasquet and Moyes took the opportunity to attack the modern Church of England, abandoning the historical focus they had maintained during the papal commission to demonstrate their disgust at contemporary ritualism. They described this as 'the work of the devil, and as such a foe of true catholicism even more dangerous and insidious than

⁵⁷⁴ Lacey, *A Roman Diary*, 57; Pierotti, 'Concerning the Episcopal Consecration', 219–220; Benedict Green, 'Frere, Walter (1863–1938)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁷⁵ Lacey, *A Roman Diary*, 61.

⁵⁷⁶ Gasquet and Moyes, *Risposta all'Opuscolo intitolato 'De Re Anglicana'*.

outright Protestantism'.⁵⁷⁷ Gasquet and Moyes argued that this was an extension of Anglicanism's ahistorical trajectory, from the rejection of Roman doctrine and practice to a sad parody of it:

From the time of the Reformation the devil has constantly combated the Catholic faith in England by means of heresy, and by OPEN AND VIOLENT HOSTILITY ... [He now] combats the Catholic Church by IMITATING her and by using against her a travesty of her doctrine; and by usurping her practices he attracts simple souls.⁵⁷⁸

They also published, with Fleming, *Documenta ad Legationem Cardinalis Poli Spectantia*, offering more historical evidence for the condemnation of Anglican orders during the early Reformation.⁵⁷⁹

Pierrotti's report on the findings of the papal commission on Anglican orders supported the case which had been presented there by the invalidists, and reflects the influence of Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes's *Ordines Anglicani*. Pierotti concluded that Anglican orders had long been ruled invalid, and he rooted their first condemnation in Julius III's *bull*.⁵⁸⁰ Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes had argued that both Julius and Paul's *bullae* condemned those not ordained in the form of the church, but that Julius' *bull* was not as specific about the categories it condemned as Paul's

⁵⁷⁷ Gasquet and Moyes, *Risposta all'Opuscolo 'De Re Anglicana'*, paraphrased in Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 170.

⁵⁷⁸ Gasquet and Moyes, *Risposta all'Opuscolo 'De Re Anglicana'*, translated in Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 176. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁷⁹ Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes, *Documenta ad Legationem Cardinalis Poli Spectantia*.

⁵⁸⁰ Pierotti, 'Concerning the Episcopal Consecration', 211.

Praeclara Charissimi was. They emphasised *Praeclara Charissimi* since they saw it as amplifying the vague condemnations of Anglican orders given in Julius' *bull*. Pierotti went beyond this, claiming that Julius' *bull* should be read in concert with *Praeclara Charissimi*. Pierotti believed that both Julius and Paul had ruled all Edwardian ordination rites invalid in the same way, but that Paul had clarified the language of Julius' conclusion in order to ensure that all Anglican orders were understood to be invalid. Pierotti concluded that 'ordinations conferred with the *Edwardine form* were from the beginning authoritatively declared and in practice held to be totally invalid, by reason of the defect of form and intention'.⁵⁸¹ Pierotti had been convinced by the invalidists' contention that the defects of Anglican orders had been recognised in the early Reformation. He went on to review the later acts and decisions of the Inquisition, arguing that it had only investigated Anglican orders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because of a lack of awareness of these earlier, definitive decisions.⁵⁸² He placed great emphasis on the coherent rejection of Anglican orders by the English Roman Catholic Church, and he believed this demonstrated a theological consensus that Anglican orders were historically recognised as invalid.⁵⁸³

Condemning the insufficiency of the form of the Anglican ordinal, Pierotti pronounced himself convinced by the 'full and detailed exposition ... supported by reliable historical documents' that had been discussed by the

⁵⁸¹ Ibid. 223. Emphasis in the original.

⁵⁸² Ibid. 224–225.

⁵⁸³ Ibid. 236.

commission, that 'the compliers of the Ordinal denied the existence of the Sacrament of Orders, the real presence ... the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the power to absolve and remit sins, in the true and Catholic sense'.⁵⁸⁴ He agreed with Fleming, Gasquet and Moyes that Cranmer had intended to introduce a heretical understanding of sacraments into the Church of England, and that therefore its intention to perform those sacraments must still be deficient. Pierotti had fully absorbed the essence of the invalidist case, as it had been articulated in *Ordines Anglicani* and at the papal commission.⁵⁸⁵ He even contrasted the historical legitimacy of the Roman Catholic Church with the Church of England, and hoped that a condemnation of Anglican orders would demonstrate that historicity in a way that might lead to many conversions to the Roman Catholic Church:

A new and solemn decision declaring Anglican ordinations to be invalid would not only manifest the constancy and unchanging conduct of the Holy See; it would serve also to tear off the sheep's clothing ... with which these new reformers have wished to disguise themselves.⁵⁸⁶

Pierotti's report was placed before the Cardinals of the Inquisition for their consideration. On 16 July 1896 they concluded that Anglican orders had already been proved invalid, and that the most recent inquiry had confirmed that decision.⁵⁸⁷ Such was the significance of the occasion, that with the

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid. 251.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid. 248, 250.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid. 259, 261.

⁵⁸⁷ Gasquet, *Leaves from my Diary*, 75; Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void*, 191–192.

exception of Rampolla, all the Cardinals of the Inquisition attended this meeting, though Cardinal Mertel (1806–1899) was sick and had to be carried into the chamber where it was held. This ceremony was marked out by a considerable dignity: it was held in the presence of the Pope on a *feria v*, Thursday (normal meetings of the Inquisition occurred on a *feria iv*, Wednesday). Traditionally, this was the most solemn occasion on which the Cardinals of the Inquisition met, and one to which infallibility had been attributed.⁵⁸⁸ After the meeting, the Pope determined to embody the Cardinal's decision in an apostolic letter, which was drafted by Merry del Val with Gasquet's considerable help. This was translated into English by Merry del Val, Fleming, Moyes and Gasquet.⁵⁸⁹

Apostolicae Curae (1896)

In the apostolic letter, *Apostolicae Curae*, Leo explained his reasons for ordering an examination of the validity of Anglican ordinations, and issued a judgement on their invalidity. He began by situating this recent inquiry in the context of the historic relationship between England and the Holy See, fondly recalling their union in ancient times and desiring that his love for England might now encourage the nation to again embrace unity with the Roman Catholic Church.⁵⁹⁰ He explained that, to reduce the number of obstacles to this unity, and because he admired the desire of some Anglicans

⁵⁸⁸ Clement XI had ruled Gordon would be ordained unconditionally, because of the invalidity of his Anglican orders, in a *feria v* ceremony on 17 April 1704. Ibid. 165–167, 188.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid. 192–198.

⁵⁹⁰ Leo, '*Apostolicae Curae*', 265.

to possess the benefits of a sacramental priesthood, he had ordered 'a re-examination of the question [of Anglican orders], in order that a complete and thorough investigation might remove even the least shadow of doubt for the future'.⁵⁹¹ He had convened a commission of experts to examine the Church's attitude toward Anglican orders in the past, and had insisted that they be afforded all necessary facilities, especially in the archives of the Church, to pursue 'scientific' historical research. Their conclusions had allowed the Pope to offer a summary of the historic practice of the Roman Catholic Church concerning Anglican ordinations, and this had determined his conclusion that they had long been seen as 'absolutely null and utterly void'.⁵⁹² Leo wrote that, from the first, the Edwardian rite of ordination had been condemned by the papacy, and he authenticated this claim by both an appeal to custom as the best interpreter of the truth, and to the magisterial authority of the Church.⁵⁹³ 'Scientific' modern historical research had reinforced and confirmed the wisdom of that tradition.

Apostolicae Curae then offered a highly abbreviated version of the arguments advanced in *Ordines Anglicani*, to show that the Roman Catholic Church had consistently rejected Anglican orders. Establishing that the Anglican rite had long been condemned, and that the curia had acted in accordance with that condemnation in its previous investigations of the status of Anglican orders in 1685 and 1704, the Pope passed on to examine

⁵⁹¹ Ibid. 266.

⁵⁹² Ibid. 265, 267:265.

⁵⁹³ Ibid. 271-272.

why the Anglican rite was considered insufficient to convey valid orders.⁵⁹⁴

He first looked at the liturgy itself, arguing that since it lacked 'everything which in the Catholic rite clearly sets forth the dignity and functions of the priesthood' it was deficient in form.⁵⁹⁵ Indeed, he argued that the rite had been formulated without 'clear mention ... of the power to consecrate and offer sacrifice' because the Anglican reformers had decided, 'under the pretext of restoring the order of the liturgy to its primitive form ... to bring it into accord with the errors of the Innovators'.⁵⁹⁶ Leo felt that the changes made to the Anglican rite in the sixteenth-century were intended to help it to suppress what it ought to have signified, the sacrificing priesthood which defined (at least in relational terms) the three major orders of the Roman Catholic Church.⁵⁹⁷ Leo was convinced that Anglican ordinations could not be valid, because of these defects in their early form and intention. He explained that he had decided to publish their invalidity because he was concerned there was a danger that Anglicans would not realise their orders had never been valid. He wanted to save those Anglican ritualists who thought they possessed a sacrificing priesthood, and were therefore introducing Eucharistic devotions into the Church of England, from material idolatry: their views meant that 'not a few may ... be led into the dangerous error of thinking themselves to find the sacrament of Order and its fruits where in fact they do not exist'.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid. 271–272.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid. 274.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid. 275.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid. 274.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid. 277.

Apostolicae Curae concluded that the most recent Roman Catholic examination of Anglican orders was in continuity with the Roman Catholic Church's consistent rejection of the Church of England's position. *Apostolicae Curae* was an assertion and restatement of that historic inter-denominational opposition. The Pope hoped that, in his stark restatement of the abiding division between Anglicanism and the true catholic Church, he might inspire some Anglicans to seek the certain sacramental benefits offered by conversion to Rome. Leo encouraged them to enter a communion where

the souls of the faithful are truly forgiven their sins and restored to the friendship of God, nourished and strengthened with the bread of heaven, and provided in abundance with the most powerful aids to the attainment of eternal life.⁵⁹⁹

The apostolic letter's rhetorical power came from the fusion it offered of traditional Roman Catholic claims to historic continuity with what appeared to be 'scientific' historical confirmation of those claims.

The Reception of *Apostolicae Curae*

The publication of a letter in which the Pope claimed that the Church of England did not enjoy valid orders, and that he alone possessed the authority to determine this, would have undoubtedly provoked an outbreak of popular anti-Catholicism had it occurred much earlier in the nineteenth-century. That is what had happened in 1850, when the new Roman Catholic hierarchy threatened the episcopal monopoly of the Church of England, and

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid. 278.

again in 1870, when *Pastor Aeternas* implied that papal jurisdiction overwhelmed that of the state, and stated that the Pope possessed infallible authority over the whole Church. However, no widespread or popular anti-Catholic agitation followed the publication of *Apostolicae Curae*. There were a number of responses to *Apostolicae Curae* which pugnaciously defended the authenticity of Anglican orders, but the apostolic letter did not cause widespread public offence, and was viewed without any great alarm even within the episcopal and nascent synodical structures of the Church of England.⁶⁰⁰ Something had changed in the nature of English national identity, so that by 1896 the Pope could attack the position of the Church of England, effectively attempting to deChurch the Anglican establishment, without his actions being denounced as those of a foreign usurper.

This reflected the increasing level of public tolerance for the Roman Catholic Church's position within the English public sphere, and even for its claim to be the sole legitimate descendant of the pre-Reformation Church in England. In addition, the potentially explosive nature of the apostolic letter was defused by its adoption of a historical style which avoided the appearance of mere anti-Anglican polemic, and because its conclusions were aligned with the popular anti-ritualism of the late 1890s. *Apostolicae Curae* was presented as a disinterested investigation into the past practices of the Holy See concerning Anglican orders, rather than as a new attack against them. It was also portrayed as having been conceived in response to the requests of Anglican ritualists for clarification of the status of their

⁶⁰⁰ Colin Podmore, *Aspects of Anglican Identity* (Church House Publishing: 2005) 108–110.

orders. Ironically, the condemnation of Anglican orders as ‘absolutely null and utterly void’ in a Roman Catholic sense was welcomed by many Low Churchmen since it made it clear that Roman Catholics did not recognise ritualist constructions of Anglican identity as legitimate. The Pope’s affirmation of the intrinsically Protestant character of the Church of England was a confirmation of the Low and Broad Church antipathy toward ritualism, and they welcomed Leo’s judgement that a sacrificial priesthood did not exist, and had not been intended to exist, within the Church of England. At the annual meeting of the National Protestant Union in 1897, ‘the Bishop of Sodor and Man moved a resolution expressing [their] gratification ... that ... the Church of Rome ... had formally declared that the second order of Anglican clergy were not ordained as “sacrificing priests”’.⁶⁰¹ Popular Protestant reactions to *Apostolicae Curae* were, therefore, primarily channelled into anti-ritualism rather than anti-Catholicism. This was in keeping with the way anti-Catholicism was often transferred into anti-ritualism at the end of the nineteenth-century, as Anglo-Catholicism eclipsed Roman Catholicism as a perceived threat to the Protestant hegemony of the established Church.⁶⁰² This chapter argues that a prevailing culture of anti-ritualism softened potential anti-Catholic responses to the apostolic letter.

As in *Apostolicae Curae*, historicised polemic and anti-ritualism were combined in Walter Walsh’s Secret History of the Oxford Movement.

⁶⁰¹ ‘National Protestant Union’, *The Times* 35202 (13 May 1897) 12.

⁶⁰² Machin, ‘The Last Victorian anti-Ritualist Campaign’, 277–278, 280.

published in September 1897.⁶⁰³ This was in many ways a reaction to the apostolic letter, and Walsh may have been directly influenced by the role historical research had played in the formulation of *Apostolicae Curiae*, which he discussed as the climax to his denunciation of Tractarianism. Walsh's work used the scaffolding of 'scientific' archival research to justify his attacks on the Oxford movement. Walsh claimed that Tractarianism had always been motivated by a desire to unite the Church of England with the Roman Catholic Church, and that Halifax's work for corporate reunion was the latest, most obvious part of a secret campaign to bring the Church of England under Roman obedience.⁶⁰⁴ He was delighted with the Pope's response to this plan, which was at the same time a confirmation and a rejection of the Church of England's Protestant character:

The Romanizers had flattered, cringed to, and prostrated themselves before the Church of Rome in a state of abject humiliation, in the hope that the Pope would do them the honour of recognizing them as real sacrificing priests ... Instead of receiving a Papal blessing, they were spurned from the throne of the Vatican with a Papal kick.⁶⁰⁵

The fact that Walsh chose to frame his polemical denunciation of ritualism as an impartial historical investigation was an acknowledgement that historical consciousness now defined the boundaries of contemporary discussions of the relationship between Churches and the nation.

⁶⁰³ Walter Walsh, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* (Swann Sonnenschein: 1898).

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid. x, 266, 280–281, 335–336.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid. 357.

Cardinal Vaughan also played up to the popular anti-ritualism which greeted *Apostolicae Curae*. In his public appearances during 1896 he expressed the confusion many English people felt when confronted with the catholic claims of ritualists, untenably still members of a Protestant Church. He condemned ritualists for their ignorance of Anglicanism's Protestant religious heritage, and of the true meaning of catholicism, at the same time calling on them to enter into continuity with the true English catholic tradition, which had only be expressed through the Roman Catholic Church. In his address to the Catholic Truth Society conference, Vaughan argued that the conclusions of the apostolic letter should be deeply disturbing for those members of the Church of England who had come to believe in the importance of a sacramental priesthood. It showed that they were engaged in a 'very foolish form of idolatry' by relying on the sacraments of men 'whose priesthood is null and void'.⁶⁰⁶ *Apostolicae Curae* should have awakened them to the fatal inconsistency of their current position, and for that reason a place had been prepared for them within the body of the Roman Catholic Church. Vaughan considered absolute submission to the Pope as the sole path to Christian unity, and advised ritualists to take the decision to convert now:

Tarry not for Corporate Reunion. It is a dream, and a snare of the Evil One. We have all to be converted to God individually ... The individual may no more wait for Corporate Reunion than he may wait for Corporate Conversion.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁶ 'Vaughan's speech at the Catholic Truth Society', *The Times* 35008 (29 September 1896) 7.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

Vaughan therefore drew on a heritage of attacking the Church of England on the basis that Anglican orders were invalid. Elizabeth Stuart has highlighted how the opposition of English ultramontanes to Tractarianism focused on the invalidity of Anglican orders from as early as the 1850s. Stuart argued that later widespread opposition among English Roman Catholics to ritualism's imitative character led to the publication of pamphlets which attempted to demonstrate the invalidity of Anglican orders by focusing on bogus historical traditions such as the Nag's Head fable.⁶⁰⁸

The press also responded to *Apostolicae Curae* by attacking ritualists. Curiously, this may have indicated growing public support for the religious pluralisation of English society. When combined with toleration for the exclusivist claims of the Roman Catholic Church, it suggested that the press were prepared to accept that the Church of England and the English Roman Catholic Church could share the nation's public sphere. Indeed, their co-existence offered Christians a free choice between the two denominations, depending on which had a clear affinity with their religious beliefs. Some press reports believed *Apostolicae Curae* showed that Anglican orders were condemned only by the standards of the Roman Catholic Church rather than according to an absolute measure, and that it was possible to see both Churches as excellent according to their own kind. In his biography of Vaughan, J. Snead-Cox maintained that English public feeling was not outraged by the apostolic letter because of this reasoning:

⁶⁰⁸ Elizabeth Stuart, 'The Condemnation of Anglican Orders in the Light of the Roman Catholic Reaction to the Oxford Movement', *Heythrop Journal* 29 (1988) 86–98:90, 93–94.

once it was understood that the aggressive words ‘Condemnation of Anglican Orders’ meant that Orders given in the Church of England are not Orders in the Catholic sense of Orders ... any feeling of soreness ... quickly disappeared. There seemed even a general disposition to agree with the Pope. ... if the Holy See had proclaimed that the Anglican clergy were indeed ‘sacrificing Mass priests’ ... the national dissent would have found unmistakable utterance.⁶⁰⁹

The Times suggested that the Pope’s condemnation of Anglican orders would only clarify the relationship between the Churches and their legitimate members. Its result would be that some ritualists would find a more congenial home in the Roman Catholic Church, while, thankfully, others would revise their claim to possess the ‘vast supernatural powers the Pope so cruelly denies to them’.⁶¹⁰ The Times argued that in *Apostolicae Curae*, the Pope was holding out his arms to those High Churchmen ‘whose position in the Anglican Church must be questionable even to themselves’ and whose conversion would allow both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches to fulfil their religious identities with greater integrity.⁶¹¹

Public reactions to *Apostolicae Curae* from leading Anglican ritualists were muted. Though the apostolic letter has now been an ecumenical wound in the body of the Church for more than a century, it did not cause prominent ritualists to question publicly the validity of Anglican orders, and does not

⁶⁰⁹ Snead-Cox, The Life of Cardinal Vaughan, vol.2, 229–230.

⁶¹⁰ ‘Apostolic letters have at last ...’, The Times 35000 (19 September 1896) 7.

⁶¹¹ ‘Cardinal Vaughan, in his very ...’, The Times 35008 (29 September 1896) 7.

appear to have given rise to a significant number of conversions. Indeed, 'indignant' wrote to the Church Times that the Pope's lack of fairness when discussing the Church of England's claim to catholicity had put him off his planned conversion to the Roman Catholic Church.⁶¹² Halifax, addressing the English Church Union in October 1896, affirmed his continuing loyalty to the catholic integrity of the Church of England, and his faith in the validity of its orders and sacraments:

We have used the sacraments intrusted (sic) to and administered by the Church of England as effectual signs of grace ... and to ask us to believe that all the time such sacraments were fictitious, empty signs of man's invention, is to induce us to disbelieve, not merely in the sacraments we have received, but in the reality of sacramental grace altogether.⁶¹³

At the diocesan congresses and the Church Congress held in October 1896, there was, understandably, some reflection on *Apostolicae Curae*, but it was far less prominent in the speeches and agendas of these conferences than expressions of regret at the sudden death of Archbishop Benson, or the discussion of matters concerning the resourcing of ministry. Compared to subjects such as clergy stipends or sabbatarianism, the papal condemnation of Anglican orders seemed of minor practical interest.⁶¹⁴ Some bishops used their speeches at the conferences to dismiss *Apostolicae Curae*, but they did

⁶¹² 'Letters', Church Times (2 October 1896) 320.

⁶¹³ 'Lord Halifax and Anglican Orders', The Times 35014 (6 October 1896) 6.

⁶¹⁴ 'Diocesan Conferences', The Times 35010 (1 October 1896) 6; 'Diocesan Conferences', The Times 35023 (16 October 1896) 5; 'Diocesan Conferences', The Times 35028 (22 October 1896) 5.

not feel the need to rebut its claim that the Church of England did not possess valid orders. They claimed it was an intentionally offensive document, 'full of 'needless pomp and circumstance' and requiring no serious response.⁶¹⁵ MacLagan's opening sermon at the Church Congress argued that *Apostolicae Curae*'s 'arrogant claims' reflected the growing presumption of the English Roman Catholic Church. He hoped that the increasingly assertive attempts of English Roman Catholics to force their way into the public sphere, and the expression of that impulse in *Apostolicae Curae*, would encourage the Anglican Church to recapture its former monopoly as the national religion, and respond to the 'arrogant claims and novel doctrines of the Roman Communion ... [by] claim[ing] for ourselves our full heritage of Catholic faith and Catholic life'.⁶¹⁶ Other bishops viewed the conclusions of the apostolic letter as regrettable, but expressed a greater tolerance for the right of the Pope to condemn Anglican orders, because of the Roman Catholic Church's particularist theological position. James Moorhouse (1826–1915), Bishop of Manchester, believed *Apostolicae Curae* was not intended to be offensive, or to provoke inter-religious confrontation.⁶¹⁷ He argued that 'no one could read that document without perceiving the anxiety of its venerable author to arrive at a true conclusion, and even to soften, as far as possible, the effect of its trenchant condemnation'. Moorhouse concluded that, regrettably, *Apostolicae Curae*

⁶¹⁵ 'Diocesan Conferences', *The Times* 35010, 6; 'Diocesan Conferences', *The Times* 35023, 5.

⁶¹⁶ 'The Church Congress', *The Times* 35015 (7 October 1896) 5; 'Archbishop of York's Convocation Speech', *Church Times* (9 October 1896) 353.

⁶¹⁷ E.A. Knox, 'Moorhouse, James (1826–1915)', rev. F.B. Smith, *ODNB*; C.R. Badger, 'Moorhouse, James (1826–1915)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

made Church reunion impossible, and that different branches of Christ's Church would have to carry out His mission in parallel rather than moving toward greater unity.⁶¹⁸

However, at his diocesan conference Creighton, at that time Bishop of Peterborough, attacked the apostolic letter. As one of the Church of England's leading historians, he criticised its historical basis rather than condemning its tone or viewing it as a threat to the internal cohesion of the Church of England. He condemned its teleological repetition, and argued that the intention to demonstrate the historical consistency of the Roman Catholic Church had perpetuated factual errors, rather than allowing for their correction. Roman Catholic historical writing was severely limited by the systematising imperative of the Roman Catholic Church.⁶¹⁹ Henry Gwatkin (1844–1916), Creighton's successor as Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Cambridge, did offer a defence of Anglican orders on historical grounds at the Church Congress.⁶²⁰ Gwatkin argued that the Church of England had been within its rights as a national Church to reform itself and shake off the ahistorical jurisdiction claimed by the papacy. In contrast, William Hutton (1860–1930), Dean of Winchester, who spoke after Gwatkin, declared that

the continuous life of the Church of Christ in this land was not
broken at the Reformation, or at any other time, by any doctrinal or

⁶¹⁸ 'Diocesan Conferences', The Times 35028 (22 October 1896) 5.

⁶¹⁹ 'Diocesan Conferences', The Times 35010 (1 October 1896) 6.

⁶²⁰ Bentley, Modernizing England's Past, 67–68; Peter Slee, 'Gwatkin, Henry (1844–1916)', ODNB.

disciplinary changes. The more he studied the history of England the more clearly and certainly did he find that fact established.⁶²¹

Saepius Officio (1897)

Despite the apparent equanimity of these responses to *Apostolicae Curae*, the historical claims of the apostolic letter did raise a challenge to the identity of the Church of England, and to its legitimacy as an expression of catholic Christianity in England. In particular *Apostolicae Curae*'s historical claims demanded a detailed response and rebuttal. The narrative which had long-maintained the historic privilege of the Church of England, and which had justified its pre-eminence within the English public sphere could not be reconciled with the emphasis *Apostolicae Curae* had placed on the discontinuity of its doctrines and practices. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York understood that the apostolic letter's condemnation of their orders demanded a well-judged response, if the Church of England was to maintain its claim to reconcile catholic and apostolic tradition with reformed truth. They therefore disputed *Apostolicae Curae*'s factual accuracy and its directing spirit in a text known as *Saepius Officio*.⁶²² The Archbishops claimed the papal investigation into the validity of Anglican orders had not relied on truly 'scientific' historical research; the apostolic letter in fact attempted to impose the historically-rootless authority of a modern pope to

⁶²¹ 'The Church Congress', The Times 35017 (9 October 1896) 8; Matthew, 'Hutton, William (1860–1930)', ODNB.

⁶²² Frederick Temple and MacLagan, *Saepius Officio* (Longmans: 1897), translated as Temple and MacLagan, 'Answer to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII on English Ordinations', Anglican Orders, 281–317.

destroy the legitimate variation which had always existed in the Church's understanding of ordination. They contrasted the Church of England's attempts to express its fidelity to what it acknowledged to be a complex and ultimately confusing historical religion, with Roman Catholicism's hollow confidence in a simplified version of Church history.

Though it has not been investigated in any major secondary study of the 1896 condemnation of Anglican orders, *Saepius Officio* is commonly believed to have been written by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York at the time of its promulgation, Frederick Temple (1821–1902) and MacLagan, since it was addressed from the Archbishops to all the catholic bishops of the world.⁶²³ This assumption conceals the considerable historical and liturgical expertise, and the desire of non-ritualist High Churchmen to vindicate their position, which actually fed into the letter. The importance of these factors will be revealed in this chapter's analysis of *Saepius Officio*. Following the publication of *Apostolicae Curae*, Creighton was bombarded with private letters provoked by the apostolic letter. Creighton was impressed with one from William Knox-Little (1839–1918), canon of Worcester, which suggested that the Anglican episcopate should make an authoritative reply to *Apostolicae Curae*, to confirm to 'younger men' that Anglican orders were valid according to the standards of the catholic Church, and that, more importantly, the apostolic letter had not proved them illegitimate according to any reliable historical standard. He also made this

⁶²³ Ibid. 281; H.M. Spooner, 'Temple, Frederick (1821–1902)', rev. Chapman, *ODNB*.

suggestion directly to Benson.⁶²⁴ Knox–Little had denounced *Apostolicae Curae* in *The Times* for its ‘total disregard for historical truth’, and argued that it had resorted to ‘audacious fable[s]’ in order to discredit the historical continuity of the Church of England and justify the innovation of the Roman Catholic Church’s missionary activities in the country.⁶²⁵ Creighton believed that this kind of reply to *Apostolicae Curae* would allow the Church of England to rebut the arguments of the apostolic letter, and also offer the opportunity to define positively its attitude toward orders and sacraments.⁶²⁶ With Benson’s agreement, Creighton co–ordinated the drafting of a response to *Apostolicae Curae* following this model with John Wordsworth (1843–1911), Bishop of Salisbury, and Stubbs.⁶²⁷ Wordsworth wrote a draft in Latin, with the intention that Stubbs would criticise it and Creighton would ‘try & make the result intelligible’.⁶²⁸ Wordsworth also received advice on the text from Edward King (1829–1910), Bishop of Lincoln, and John Crowfoot (1841–1926), Chancellor of Lincoln.⁶²⁹ Crucial passages were discussed between Wordsworth, Stubbs, Creighton, and with

⁶²⁴ LPL, BP, OL 1896, E.1–M.8, vol.145, William Knox–Little to Edward Benson (21 September 1896) 1–4; Matthew, ‘Little, William Knox– (1839–1918)’, *ODNB*.

⁶²⁵ Knox–Little, ‘Cardinal Vaughan and Anglican Orders’, *The Times* 35012 (3 October 1896) 8.

⁶²⁶ LPL, BP, OL 1896, E.1–M.8, vol.145, Mandell Creighton to Benson (23 September 1896) 7–8.

⁶²⁷ E.W. Watson, ‘Wordsworth, John (1843–1911)’, rev. Sinéad Agnew, *ODNB*.

⁶²⁸ LPL, BP, OL 1896, E.1–M.8, vol.145, Creighton to Benson (2 October 1896) 18–19.

⁶²⁹ John Newton, ‘King, Edward (1829–1910)’, *ODNB*.

Benson and MacLagan.⁶³⁰ Particular factual questions were informed by correspondence with Puller, Frere, William Bright (1824–1901), Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford University, and F.E.

Brightman (1856–1932), Librarian of Pusey House.⁶³¹ Wordsworth's first draft so impressed Creighton that he thought it needed little modification.⁶³² It attempted to offer a liturgical definition of the Anglican doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice, concentrating on the content of the office of Holy Communion rather than having recourse to the thirty-first Article of Religion. This was an attempt to demonstrate that the Church of England had continued to value orders and sacraments, while avoiding the divisions between Church parties that might have followed a more positive doctrinal definition of the concept of Eucharistic sacrifice. It also softened the text's potential to be seen as an anti-Catholic statement.⁶³³

Wordsworth posted his proposed text of the response to the apostolic letter to Benson on 11 October 1896.⁶³⁴ The same day, Benson died suddenly

⁶³⁰ LPL, TP, OL 1897, Home P.10–S.14, William MacLagan to Frederick Temple (1 January 1897) 80–81, MacLagan to Temple (4 February 1897) 82–83, John Wordsworth to Temple (5 February 1897) 86–87.

⁶³¹ LPL, Miscellaneous Papers, MS 2165, Description of Anglican Orders—Papal Bull and Reply, belonging to Andrew Wordsworth, 165–167:166–167; LPL, Miscellaneous Papers, MS 3120, F.W. Puller to Benson (undated) 204–215; LPL, TP, OL 1897, Home P.10–S.14, Wordsworth to Creighton (20 October 1896) 52–55; Andrew Clark, 'Bright, William (1824–1901)', rev. Myfanwy Lloyd, ODNB; S.L. Ollard, 'Brightman, Frank (1856–1932)', rev. Donald Gray, ODNB.

⁶³² LPL, BP, OL 1896, E.1–M.8, vol.145, Creighton to Benson (3 October 1896) 22–23.

⁶³³ LPL, BP, OL 1896, E.1–M.8, vol.145, Wordsworth to Benson (11 October 1896) 43–44.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.* 43–44.

while visiting Gladstone at Hawarden.⁶³⁵ His death, and Creighton's subsequent translation to become Bishop of London, delayed the publication of *Saepius Officio* and greatly limited Creighton's later involvement in its editing. His heavy responsibilities meant that it fell to Wordsworth to have the letter printed, after Temple, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, had examined it thoroughly and ensured it maintained a pacific tone. The draft Wordsworth sent to Benson was, however, substantively the form in which *Saepius Officio* was published in February 1897.⁶³⁶

A copy of *Saepius Officio* was sent to the Pope in April, with a covering letter that expressed the Archbishops' fraternal affection for Leo. In this letter, the Archbishops explained that they wanted to build a peaceful relationship between the Church of England and the papacy, but that the cause of truth had necessitated the publication of *Saepius Officio* as a vindication of the orders of the Church of England.⁶³⁷ *Saepius Officio* also began in this moderate fashion, stating that the Archbishops only reluctantly entered the debate over the validity of Anglican orders. However, they had recognised that *Apostolicae Curae* was 'aimed at overthrowing our whole position as a Church', and that it manifested a polemical agenda on the part of the English Roman Catholic Church to which they had to respond.⁶³⁸ The Archbishops excused their use of a similar controversial form to *Apostolicae*

⁶³⁵ A.C. Benson, *The Life of Edward White Benson*, vol.2 (Macmillan, 1899) 776.

⁶³⁶ LPL, Miscellaneous Papers, MS 3120, Wordsworth to Louise Creighton (28 June 1901) 247; LPL, TP, OL 1897, Home P.10–S.14, Annotated proofs of *Saepius Officio*, 56–76, 103–124.

⁶³⁷ ASV, SS, 1901, 66, 2, Temple and MacLagan to Leo (4 April 1897) 2.

⁶³⁸ Temple and MacLagan, 'Answer to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII', 281.

Curae, which they had adopted 'lest it be said by any one that we have shrunk from the force of the arguments put forward on the other side'.⁶³⁹ Saepius Officio then boldly attacked Apostolicae Curae for inventing supposedly historic grounds for the condemnation of Anglican orders, in order to conceal the fact that it offered a thoroughly modern repudiation of them. Saepius Officio aimed to demonstrate that the apostolic letter did not rely on the verdict of a 'scientific' historical investigation, as it had claimed. The Archbishops argued that the investigation had interpreted ambiguous or suspect documents in a particularist fashion, and had not acknowledged that it drew on incomplete evidence. Its inadequate historical foundation had merely provided a pretext for the condemnation of Anglican orders by the papacy. Saepius Officio therefore dismissed the hermeneutic of continuity by which Apostolicae Curae had interpreted the Roman Catholic Church's historic rejection of Anglican orders.

Saepius Officio disputed the integrated narrative of the historic condemnation of Anglican orders by the papacy Apostolicae Curae had presented.⁶⁴⁰ It dismissed the apostolic letter's account of the first condemnation of Anglican orders, in which Apostolicae Curae had claimed that an informed papal policy had existed against orders conveyed by the Edwardian rites. The Archbishops believed that, in reality, Anglican orders had been dealt with in a wide variety of ways during the Marian restoration of Roman Catholicism, and they criticised Apostolicae Curae for failing to acknowledge the complexity and confusion of the historic events of the

⁶³⁹ Ibid. 282.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid. 284–288.

English Reformation. The Archbishops admitted that a few clergymen might have received new orders under Pole.⁶⁴¹ However they argued that 'perhaps the majority, remained in their benefices without re-ordination'.⁶⁴² In addition to this *de facto* acceptance of the validity of Edwardian ordinations, *Saepius Officio* argued that Pole had sometimes condemned Anglican orders wrongly. The Archbishops argued that his tenure as Archbishop of Canterbury was not characterised by a coherent rejection of orders conveyed according to the Edwardian rite. They believed that the way *Apostolicae Curae* had presented its 'evidence' for a blanket condemnation of Edwardian orders was designed to disguise the absence of any such policy.⁶⁴³

Apostolicae Curae also stated that the orders of individual Anglicans converting to the Roman Catholic Church had always, after investigation, been rejected by the Pope or his Roman officials.⁶⁴⁴ *Saepius Officio* disputed the reliability of these historic judgements, and asserted that they were probably based on myths about the Anglican ordination rites rather than factual inquiries. The Archbishops suggested that the Pope might therefore have been trapped by unreliable precedents, and perpetuated their mistakes in *Apostolicae Curae*.⁶⁴⁵ Further, because the Inquisition refused to allow access to the documents of these historic inquiries, the Archbishops argued that the precedents themselves had never been examined in a truly

⁶⁴¹ Ibid. 285–288.

⁶⁴² Ibid. 285.

⁶⁴³ Ibid. 284.

⁶⁴⁴ Leo, 'Apostolicae Curae', 271–272.

⁶⁴⁵ Temple and MacLagan, 'Answer to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII', 289.

'scientific' historical inquiry. They demanded that 'all those documents ought to be made public if the matter is to be put on a fair footing for judgment'.⁶⁴⁶ The Archbishops were arguing that *Apostolicae Curae*'s scholarly reputation would not be able to survive an impartial examination of its archival sources. This undermined the apostolic letter's assertion that the highest standards of 'scientific' historical scholarship had underpinned the most recent Roman investigation into Anglican orders.

Saepius Officio moved on to argue that *Apostolicae Curae*'s restrictive understanding of the nature of ordination was also ahistorical, since it was inconsistent with the practice of the primitive, and the universal, Church. In addition to examining how Anglican orders had been treated by the Roman Catholic Church in the past, *Apostolicae Curae* had based its condemnation of Anglican orders on the necessity of maintaining consistency in the form and matter of ordination rites. It ruled that these had to include particular words and actions which could not be removed without endangering their validity. *Apostolicae Curae* had claimed that, in the Edwardian rites, the form of ordination had been altered, losing specific reference to the nature of priesthood, so that it became insufficient to ordain. In *Saepius Officio*, the Archbishops condemned the assumption that the determination of a valid form and matter of ordination was subject to such rigid criteria. To them, it seemed that there had been no such agreement in the early Church about what constituted a valid form of ordination.⁶⁴⁷ They believed that the idea of a prescriptive rite of ordination was only inaugurated by the Council of

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid. 288–289:288.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid. 282.

Trent (1545–1563), which rather than reflecting the true diversity of the Church's past, had vitrified contemporary errors.⁶⁴⁸ *Saepius Officio* also claimed that, ironically, if the Roman Catholic ordination rite was judged by the strict criteria *Apostolicae Curae* applied to the Edwardian ordinal, then all Roman Catholic orders would have to be ruled invalid as well. There was a huge gap between what the contemporary Roman Catholic Church claimed was essential for ordination and the imprecise forms which had been used in ancient Roman ordinals. If those earlier ordinals contained forms which were insufficient to ordain, then the Roman apostolic succession must have lapsed long ago:

overthrowing our orders, he overthrows all his own, and pronounces sentence on his own Church ... Pope Leo demands a form unknown to previous Bishops of Rome⁶⁴⁹

Apostolicae Curae had also claimed that the Anglican ordination rite was deficient in its intention. It alleged that the Edwardian ordinals had 'purposely removed and obliterated' ancient and medieval ideas of the nature of ordained ministry, so that there was an irreversible breach between these and Anglican understandings of ordination.⁶⁵⁰ Leo claimed that this showed that the Anglican reformers had not intended to ordain to the ancient orders of deacon, priest and bishop (merely continuing to use these as convenient terms), and so the Cranmerian rite lacked the intention necessary for its ordinations to be valid. *Saepius Officio* retorted that the

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid. 290, 292.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid. 316.

⁶⁵⁰ Leo, 'Apostolicae Curae', 275–276:275.

Anglican reformers of the sixteenth-century, far from lacking respect for the ancient orders of the Church, had only 'rescinded ceremonies composed and added [to the ordinal] by men' to more closely conform the liturgies of the Church of England to the practices of the early Church.⁶⁵¹ The Archbishops argued that Cranmer had been motivated by a historical imperative to 'return to the simplicity of the Gospel', and in doing so, to recreate a rite of ordination which 'is superior to the Roman Pontifical ... as it expresses more clearly and faithfully those things which by Christ's institution belong to the nature of the priesthood'.⁶⁵² They asserted that the reformed ordinals were an expression of Cranmer's desire to 'to keep and continue these offices which come down from the earliest times, and "reverently to use and esteem them," in the sense, of course, in which they were received from the Apostles and had been up to that time in use'.⁶⁵³ The Archbishops could not claim that Cranmer had pursued this primitivist aim using the modern methodology of 'scientific' historical research; his success had been limited by the extent of contemporary scholarship. However, they maintained that Cranmer had intended only to use the most venerable liturgical sources in reforming the liturgies. *Saepius Officio* argued that Cranmer's pardonable limitations as a historian, rather than any innovative intention, had led him accidentally to make use of prayers originating in the late medieval period or portions of continental Protestant works, in the Edwardian Prayer Books.⁶⁵⁴ *Saepius Officio* argued that it was absurd for the Pope to

⁶⁵¹ Temple and MacLagan, 'Answer to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII', 306.

⁶⁵² Ibid. 308–309.

⁶⁵³ Ibid. 306.

⁶⁵⁴ In contrast, Diarmaid MacCulloch has argued that Cranmer consciously re-purposed late medieval liturgies in the composition of his prayer books, and that his selection of

misinterpret the respect the reformers had clearly cherished for the historic rites of the Church as the intention to inaugurate a new form of orders.

Saepius Officio justified the validity of Anglican orders by claiming that they were intended to embody catholic antiquity. The Archbishops also claimed that the Church of England had exercised the legitimate liberty of a national church in returning from the excesses of medieval religion to this primitive inspiration in its liturgy. Though the Archbishops believed Anglican orders expressed the commonly-declared beliefs of the ancient Church, they did not claim that they should be validated according to an interpretation of catholicity which stressed a prescriptive unity. *Saepius Officio* argued that there had always been legitimate diversity in how national Churches articulated the nature of orders and sacraments, and this historic freedom justified the changes made to the Church of England's ordination rites in the sixteenth-century.⁶⁵⁵ The Pope's condemnation of Anglican orders was an attack on this tradition, and therefore should be condemned as an authoritarian contravention of historic, catholic practice.⁶⁵⁶

Saepius Officio responded to *Apostolicae Curae*'s accusation that changes to Anglican liturgy, epitomised by the 1552 service of Holy Communion, had altered the ontology of priesthood within the Church of England to exclude a sacrificial identity. The Archbishops attempted to do this in a manner

these, combined with his use of continental Protestant texts, mirrored his theological development. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (YUP: Newhaven, CT, 1996) 414–417, 460–461.

⁶⁵⁵ Temple and MacLagan, 'Answer to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII', 290.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 305.

which would satisfy all parties within the Church of England. However, in their desire to reassure those ritualists who were being urged to convert to Roman Catholicism because of the certainty of Roman Catholic sacraments, the Archbishops used a form of language which proved unacceptable to Low Churchmen. *Saepius Officio* attempted to demonstrate the enduring importance of the concept of sacrifice to Anglican theology of the Eucharist. The Archbishops defined this sacrifice as consisting of praise and thanksgiving, as a representation of the sacrifice of the cross, and as the congregation's sacrifice of themselves.⁶⁵⁷ This definition, being demonstrably faithful to the Book of Common Prayer, was intended to exclude anything approaching the concept of the sacrifice of the Mass, while emphasising the continuity of Eucharistic sacrifice within the Church of England. It therefore did not resemble the Roman Catholic concept of Eucharistic sacrifice, but because of its inclusion in *Saepius Officio*, the text provoked anti-ritualist groups and Protestant societies. The National Club, Church Association and Protestant Reformation Society issued a joint statement against the content of *Saepius Officio*, since

the statements put forward by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in their Reply to the Papal Bull concerning Anglican Orders ... are not in harmony with the Doctrine of the Church of England ... and we record, therefore, our solemn and deliberate protest against [them].⁶⁵⁸

The National Protestant Church Union felt that *Saepius Officio*, far from defending the historic integrity of Anglican theology and the enduring

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid. 292–293.

⁶⁵⁸ LPL, BP OL 1895 Home P.7–S.9, National Club to Temple (23 April 1897).

validity of its orders, was a departure from the faith of their fathers, since 'your Lordships have scarcely maintained that faithful remonstrance against Roman error which (sic) has been one of the distinguishing features of the Formularies of the Church of England ever since the sixteenth century'.⁶⁵⁹

The Pope responded to *Saepius Officio* more positively, in a short private letter to the Archbishops. In this he expressed his admiration for

these noble moral qualities, virtues and catholic traditions which are still strong in you, which we consider derive from the ancient soul, a fierce fire of longing to return to the unity of the Church of Christ.⁶⁶⁰

He continued to pray that all Christians would be united in the bonds of faith and love, and sent the Archbishops his blessing.⁶⁶¹ This eirenicism did not, however, characterise the response of the English Roman Catholic Church to *Saepius Officio*, which took the form of a blunt commentary on *Apostolicae Curae*, embellished by a restatement of the arguments put forward in *Ordines Anglicani*. *A Vindication of Apostolicae Curae* countered the arguments of the Anglican Archbishops on the grounds that they were not justified by Roman Catholic doctrines or practice, rather than engaging with the wider and more disintegrated catholic tradition that had been appealed to in *Saepius Officio*.

⁶⁵⁹ LPL, BP OL 1895 Home P.7–S.9, National Protestant Church Union to Temple (c. June 1897).

⁶⁶⁰ ASV, SS, 1901, 66, 2, Leo to Temple and MacLagan (20 June 1897) 9–10v:10r. My translation from Latin.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid. 10r–10v.

In February 1898, Cardinal Vaughan issued A Vindication of *Apostolicae Curae*, as the response of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Westminster to *Saepius Officio*.⁶⁶² Appearing in at least three editions and provoking a trickle of pamphlets – nowhere near the quantity which responded to *Apostolicae Curae* – the Vindication was the last official publication in the nineteenth-century controversy over the validity of Anglican orders.⁶⁶³ This text perpetuated the Roman Catholic opposition to Anglican orders that was not softened until the Second Vatican Council, and which still (despite exceptional conditional re-ordinations, and the erection of the Personal Ordinariate of Our Lady of Walsingham) defines the way Anglican clergy who convert to Roman Catholicism are treated.⁶⁶⁴ It also marked the end of ecumenical dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England until the Malines conversations of 1921–1927.⁶⁶⁵ The Vindication does not feature in any major secondary study of

⁶⁶² Herbert Vaughan, A Vindication of the Bull ‘*Apostolicae Curae*’ by the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Westminster (Longmans: 1898).

⁶⁶³ Priesthood in the English Church: a Study of the ‘Vindication’ of the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, Church Historical Society 41 (SPCK: 1898); Walter Firminger, Some comments on ‘The Vindication of the Bull “*Apostolicae Curae*”’ (PP: Calcutta, 1898); Nathaniel Dimock, Some Notes on the Vindication of the Bull ‘*Apostolicae Curae*’ (Elliot Stock: 1898).

⁶⁶⁴ Podmore, ‘Dr Leonard’s Ordination’, Unity Digest 11 (February 1995) 10–14; Hill, ‘What is the Personal Ordinariate? Canonical and Liturgical Observations’, Ecclesiastical Law Journal 12.2 (2010) 202–208.

⁶⁶⁵ R.J. Lahey, ‘The Origins and Approval of the Malines Conversations’, CH 43.3 (1974) 366–384:368; Bernard Barlow, A Brother Knocking at the Door: The Malines Conversations, 1921–1925 (Canterbury Press: Norwich, 1996).

the condemnation of Anglican orders, and has not previously been examined in historical context. This scholarly neglect may be because it was issued long enough after *Saepius Officio* to seem like an afterthought to the controversy over the apostolic letter. It may also reflect the way many contemporaries viewed the *Vindication* as a turgid restatement of *Apostolicae Curae*. Though other writers examining the condemnation of Anglican orders have passed over the *Vindication*, it deserves to be considered in this chapter because of the extremely heavy emphasis it placed on the historical authorities underpinning the papal condemnation of Anglican orders. Since the English public were not generally aware of *Ordines Anglicani*, which had only been published in Latin, the *Vindication* was their first opportunity to engage with the evidence for the deviation of the Church of England from pre-Reformation understandings of sacraments and orders that been presented to the papal commission. The *Vindication*'s arguments were, in fact, heavily influenced by *Ordines Anglicani* and so, since it was advertised as a commentary on *Apostolicae Curae* and a response to *Saepius Officio*, the *Vindication* brings all three together as a demonstration of the consistent historical basis of the English Roman Catholic Church's opposition to any recognition of Anglican orders, between 1895 and 1898.

The *Vindication* emphasised that the condemnation of Anglican orders offered in the apostolic letter was based on a series of clear precedents, as well as on a fresh study of the Anglican ordination rite in its historical context.⁶⁶⁶ It first focused on the way the apostolic letter claimed that it had,

⁶⁶⁶ Vaughan, *Vindication of 'Apostolicae Curae'*, 8.

after examination, simply reiterated previous, authoritative, Roman Catholic condemnations of Anglican orders.⁶⁶⁷ The Vindication presented a highly-integrated narrative of these past condemnations, smoothing over inconsistencies between the historic rulings of popes, legates and the Inquisition. When these had given varying reasons for their condemnation of Anglican orders, or seemed to condemn some Anglican orders of ministry but not others, the Vindication insisted that the apparent contradictions were actually complementary. For example, the Vindication stated that the *bullae* of Julius III and Paul IV, taken first by Pierotti and again in *Apostolicae Curae* as agreeing in their condemnation of Anglican orders, 'require to be read together and used to explain one another'.⁶⁶⁸ One document's partial condemnation of Anglican orders was completed, rather than contradicted, by another later document. The idea that the *bullae*, along with Pole's correspondence with his suffragans and the Pope, were essentially a single document, ignored the debate and uncertainty they manifested as to which Anglican orders might be valid and which must be condemned by Roman Catholic standards. The *bullae* and correspondence clearly show this kind of confusion when they are considered as individual documents. However, the overwhelming hermeneutic of continuity through which the Vindication viewed them made it seem that they all condemned all the orders derived from Edwardian ordination rites.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid. 8–14.

⁶⁶⁸ Pierotti, 'Concerning the Episcopal Consecration', 215–216; Leo, '*Apostolicae Curae*' 268–270; Vaughan, Vindication of '*Apostolicae Curae*', 9.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid. 10.

The Vindication's contention, that the Roman Catholic Church had condemned all Anglican orders at the first opportunity, was polemically powerful. It suggested that, to those who had lived through the early Reformation, the deviation of the Church of England from the belief and practice of the pre-Reformation Church had been immediately obvious, and offensive. It implied that contemporaries had realised that ordinations according to the Edwardian ordinal were clearly of a different character from those which had preceded them. The Vindication offered an expansive commentary on those condemnations of Anglican orders which had preceded *Apostolicae Curae*, and only eventually reminded its readers that the apostolic letter had also condemned Anglican orders following a new investigation, because the form of the Anglican ordinal was inadequate, and because its intention was not to ordain to offices compatible with a Roman Catholic understanding of the nature and purpose of orders.⁶⁷⁰ The Vindication discussed only briefly the importance of maintaining an essential form of ordination, and the inadequacy of Anglican innovations in that area.⁶⁷¹ However, it examined the differences between Roman Catholic and Anglican theologies of the Eucharist and orders at length, to show how the 1896 investigation had demonstrated the doctrinal incompatibility underlying the difference between Anglican and Roman Catholic understandings of orders.⁶⁷² The Vindication's use of quotations from prominent sixteenth-century reformers and traditionalists revealed how Vaughan was attempting to define historic Protestant-Catholic relations as

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid. 14.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid. 23–25.

⁶⁷² Ibid. 14–22, 25–40.

formed by a consciously coherent and mutually recognised ontological opposition. More clearly than any other text analysed in this chapter, the Vindication argued that the Church of England's rejection of the medieval doctrine of the Mass led it to develop into a new Church. This was shown in the Vindication's discussion of the 1704 condemnation of Anglican orders. There, the Vindication claimed that the absence from the Anglican ordinal of any explicit reference to the sacrificial purpose of ordained ministry had led the Inquisition to conclude that Anglican orders were never intended to be orders in the Roman Catholic sense. The Vindication argued that Anglican orders had therefore been condemned in 1704, and again in 1896, because the essential function of Roman Catholic ordination was the offering of sacrifice on behalf of the Church, and this was not how the Church of England had re-defined itself.⁶⁷³

In order to emphasise the historic rootlessness of Anglicanism, the Vindication offered an extended reflection on the theological innovations of Cranmer and his associates, whose views on the Eucharist and the function of ordained ministers seemed to be irreconcilable with ancient catholic tradition concerning the sacraments.⁶⁷⁴ The Vindication's intention was to demonstrate that it was ludicrous to think that 'Cranmer believed in the doctrine of the Mass', and that he had wished to preserve it, purified of notional medieval abuses, within the Church of England.⁶⁷⁵ The Vindication argued that Cranmer's composition of services for the Prayer Books had

⁶⁷³ Ibid. 13–14.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid. 26–38.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid. 35.

been designed to excise from the new office of Holy Communion, and its other rites, all that had made sacraments meaningful in the past:

Why these systematic changes and suppressions, unless it were that your 'Fathers' wished to prevent their rites from continuing to express that 'grace and power which is chiefly the power of consecrating and offering the Body and Blood of the Lord'?⁶⁷⁶

The Vindication included a frenzied description of the early reformers' destruction of altars, intended to reveal their

hatred directed against the Mass itself, not merely against some obscure abuse such as recent writers have sought in vain to unearth from the ambiguous phrases of one or two theological writers.⁶⁷⁷

The Vindication argued that, hating the Mass in this fashion, Cranmer could not have intended to design an ordinal which was capable of ordaining to the real, sacrificing priesthood. Instead, his intention must have been to inaugurate metaphorical sacraments within the Church of England, which aped the ancient forms of the Church without fulfilling them. Because of these origins, the Anglican liturgy remained a conscious rejection of continuity with the pre-Reformation Church, and the Vindication contended that this had made the Church of England irredeemably Protestant. Its rites were even incapable of taking on a catholic construction when used by a bishop who understood orders and sacraments in a Roman Catholic sense:

the circumstances of its origin have infused into the Anglican Ordinal a spirit or native character which has become a part of itself, and never can be separated from it.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid. 28.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid. 32–33.

The Vindication argued that the Church of England was still defined by the theological innovations of the sixteenth-century, and was determined that Roman Catholic opposition to such Reformed teaching should be maintained on the same historic basis.

The Vindication responded to *Saepius Officio*'s claim that Anglicans did celebrate a legitimate Eucharistic sacrifice, sacrificing themselves, their praise and thanksgiving, and representing the sacrifice of the cross, with the accusation that this was a slippery metaphor, designed to disguise the novelties of the Church of England's hollow rites.⁶⁷⁹ In an appendix, the Vindication used quotations from prominent Anglican divines to show that, before the middle of the nineteenth-century, no Anglican theologians had believed their rites could have any real sacrificial connotations.⁶⁸⁰ The Vindication claimed that Anglicans had only maintained the language of sacrifice, not intending to preserve its actuality, in order to eliminate catholicism from England and sometimes to trick people into believing that they continued the ancient practices of the Church. The Vindication offered a clear rebuke to those who had been so tricked: 'it is important ... to bear in mind that figurative language is figurative, and not to confound resemblances with realities'.⁶⁸¹ The Vindication argued that only by entering into communion with Rome could members of the Church of England be sure that their orders and sacraments were possessed of the objective reality which had always defined the historic practices of the

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid. 37.

⁶⁷⁹ Temple and MacLagan, 'Answer to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII', 292–293.

⁶⁸⁰ Vaughan, *Vindication of 'Apostolicae Curae'*, 52–63.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid. 39.

universal Church. Without this, they languished in a post-Reformation metaphorical insignificance.

that the happy day might come when you could be in accord with us also in perceiving that the secret of visible unity is to be sought, not in the system which during its comparatively short-lived existence has been the fertile mother of division, but rather in that system which has stood firm through the ages.⁶⁸²

The Vindication claimed that the Englishmen who were loyal to the Roman Catholic Church had realised Cranmer had instituted new and metaphorical forms of orders and sacraments when composing the Prayer Books. The English Roman Catholic Church had, therefore, maintained the inadequacy of Anglican orders from the very first. It quoted the sixteenth-century traditionalist Bonner to substantiate this assertion.⁶⁸³ Bonner's reflection on the restoration of communion with Rome had contrasted Edwardian orders with those conveyed under the Roman pontifical, and instructed his readers to thank

Almighty God who hath *restored unto you the right use of the Sacraments* again, and also how you ought to esteem *the right priesthood now brought home again*, by which as an ordinary means God worketh his graces amongst you.⁶⁸⁴

The Vindication also briefly mentioned those papal *bullae*, along with Pole's correspondence, which *Apostolicae Curae* had taken as definitively

⁶⁸² Ibid. 41.

⁶⁸³ Kenneth Carleton, 'Bonner, Edmund (d. 1569)', ODNB.

⁶⁸⁴ Vaughan, Vindication of 'Apostolicae Curae', 10–11. Emphasis in original.

condemning the validity of Anglican orders. These 'authentic documents' were read together as a condemnation of orders derived from 'the Edwardian form, which everyone knew had been substituted for the Catholic Church's own established form'.⁶⁸⁵

The Vindication also attacked *Saepius Officio*'s claim that, in modifying its rites and ceremonies, and reforming its doctrines, the Church of England had acted in accordance with the legitimate freedom given to national Churches.⁶⁸⁶ It argued that the Church of England's autocephalous status was not legitimate, and certainly did not provide grounds for changing the old traditions of orders and sacraments. It viewed the Church of England's Reformation as a process of cutting itself 'loose from a constant Tradition' and from those rites which 'immemorial tradition has bequeathed us'.⁶⁸⁷ Such actions could not with any certainty preserve the essential form of a sacrament, especially if (as in the case of the Church of England) the form had not conformed to a definite type which clearly expressed the objective reality of the sacrament.⁶⁸⁸ The Vindication hoped to encourage ritualists to convert, by emphasising that Roman Catholicism maintained an old tradition of orders and sacraments, which the Church of England had reacted against by creating an ontologically distinct category of orders, and inaugurating a new Church. It insulted ritualists for the way their beliefs were incompatible with the Church of England's traditions, while encouraging them to maintain these in a more consistent setting by

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid. 9–10:9, 10.

⁶⁸⁶ Temple and MacLagan, 'Answer to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII', 290.

⁶⁸⁷ Vaughan, Vindication of 'Apostolicae Curae', 22.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid. 23.

converting to Roman Catholicism. The Vindication ridiculed the idea that the sacraments and orders of the Church of England could be legitimately interpreted in a catholic sense, or as having any continuity with the ancient Church of the English nation. It implied that, in the light of the extensive evidence it had presented for the Protestant intentions of the sixteenth-century reformers, and the way these had ever-after defined the Church of England, ritualists must secretly realise their beliefs were incompatible with Anglicanism's non-catholic tradition.⁶⁸⁹ The Vindication quoted Newman to dismiss the idea that High Church divines had come to believe in Eucharistic sacrifice in a pre-Reformation sense.⁶⁹⁰ It also characterised the later attempts of the first generation of Tractarians to reconcile their adoption of such beliefs with the doctrinal foundations of Anglicanism as extreme mental contortionism:

We are aware of the efforts that have been made to give to these two Articles (XXVIII. and XXIX.) an interpretation consonant with a belief in the Real Objective Presence ... These ingenious interpretations of phrases which in their obvious sense are calculated to convey quite an opposite sense are too subtle to impress many minds.⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid. 29–39.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid. 38.

⁶⁹¹ This criticism mirrors that directed at the Tracts for the Times, particularly Oxford University's Hebdomadal Board's censure of Newman's Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles (Rivington: 1838). See William Benham and Randall Davidson, Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, vol.1 (Macmillan: 1891) 79–99. Vaughan, Vindication of 'Apostolicae Curae', 33, fn. 27.

The Vindication's attack on the position of ritualists, though it accused them of lacking integrity of identity, did not descend to the kind of abusive language Vaughan had used in his public statements before and immediately following the publication of *Apostolicae Curae*. Though the Vindication emphasised the intellectual dishonesty of ritualism, the text used comparatively moderate language in its condemnation of Anglo-Catholics, in the hope that its arguments would lead them to recognise the incongruity of their position and enter the Roman Catholic Church.

The Vindication contrasted the innovatory origins of Protestantism and the incoherence of ritualism with the clear and consistent nature of authority within the Roman Catholic Church. It asserted Leo XIII's competence to determine the conditions of a valid sacrament, because of his share in this authority. Indeed, the Vindication claimed that without the authority the Pope exercised over the Church, its sacraments would lose their certainty and stability, and become worthless.⁶⁹² In addition, the Vindication strongly implied that the teaching authority of the papacy and the historical consistency of Roman Catholic doctrine, in this case as it had been applied to the rejection of Anglican orders, were mutually-reinforcing proofs of Roman Catholicism's authenticity. This meant that the Vindication's historical argument was presented as guaranteed to be true, inasmuch as it agreed with *Apostolicae Curae*, by the judgement of the Pope. Its historical argument, in turn, demonstrated the accuracy of the Pope's judgement in *Apostolicae Curae*.⁶⁹³ Driven by the assumption that the Church could never

⁶⁹² Ibid. 5.

⁶⁹³ Ibid. 5.

have erroneously accepted Anglican orders, the Vindication attempted to demonstrate the coherence of the Church's policy of condemnation toward them. This certainty was contrasted with the absence of any firm teaching authority or historical consistency that might have guaranteed the authenticity of the Church of England's sacraments and orders. The Vindication argued that the Church of England would not even accept the conclusions of a historical inquiry requested by its own members and 'made with the greatest thoroughness and impartiality'.⁶⁹⁴ Therefore, being defined by its historical innovations and confined by its disrespect for the authority of 'scientific' historical research, Anglicanism was condemned by its ahistorical nature to ignore the conclusions of Apostolicae Curae.

The Vindication offered an exhaustive commentary on the historical basis for the decision of Apostolicae Curae.⁶⁹⁵ It argued that the Roman Catholic Church had consistently repudiated Anglican doctrines and orders because of their supposed historical rootlessness, and that recent archival research had confirmed this as the clear and constant policy of the English Roman Catholic Church since the Reformation. This contrasted Roman Catholic consistency with Anglican innovation, to reinforce the perceived growing public understanding of the modern Roman Catholic Church as the doctrinal heir to the ancient Church of the nation. The emphasis the Vindication placed on the historic witness of the English Roman Catholic community against Anglican orders was also an assertion of the English Roman Catholic Church's confidence in its capacity for self-governance under

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid. 6–8:6.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid. 5–22.

canonical norms, and may have indicated that a shift had occurred in relations between the English Roman Catholic Church and the Roman curia. This reflected Vaughan's success in persuading the Pope to privilege the supposed historical expertise of English Roman Catholics over the judgement of non-English theologians in the papal inquiry into the validity of Anglican orders, and foreshadowed the withdrawal of *Propaganda Fide*'s oversight of the Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales in 1908.

The Times 'approach[ed] the consideration of this "Letter on Anglican Orders" with a certain sense of weariness' since the Vindication's blunt conclusion did not seem to provide any grounds for future profitable discussion. It did not seek to challenge or develop the ecumenical stalemate that had been established by *Apostolicae Curae*:

The Archbishops, with the great bulk of the English people, repudiate [*Apostolicae Curae*'s] claims and decisions ... it is really mere surplusage to exhibit in detail what Rome has laid down in respect of ordination or the mass, and then pass on to contend that ... Anglican divines maintain a different doctrine.⁶⁹⁶

This stalemate was accepted by the Church of England. A reply from the Anglican Archbishops to the Vindication was drafted in March 1898, but MacLagan argued that their dignified silence would be preferable to engaging in further pointless controversy.⁶⁹⁷ Temple therefore publicly declined to issue a detailed response to the Vindication, stating that its

⁶⁹⁶ 'Anglican Orders', The Times 35431 (4 February 1898) 10.

⁶⁹⁷ LPL, TP, OL 1897, Home P.10-S.14, MacLagan to Temple (4 March 1897) 92-93, Draft Replies to Vindication of Apostolicae Curae, 94-102.

reiterative style and content was designed only to block ecumenical progress.⁶⁹⁸ These reactions to the Vindication suggest that, following Apostolicae Curae's provocative assertion of Roman Catholic historical authority, English Protestant–Catholic relations lapsed into a weary equilibrium based on the widespread acceptance that the Roman Catholic Church had established its right to condemn Anglican orders according to Roman Catholic standards, even if those standards were not shared by the Protestant majority. Public support for this position, motivated by Apostolicae Curae's reflection of popular anti-ritualism, implied that catholicity was to be hereafter defined in the English public sphere according to the historic standards of the Roman Catholic Church. This was a heavy blow to the historical narrative which had underpinned the Church of England's religious hegemony, and reflected a further fragmentation of the historical basis of Protestant national identity.

Conclusion

The English Roman Catholic campaign for a papal condemnation of Anglican orders has been seen as motivated by a fear of ecumenicism or a hatred of the Church of England. Instead, it was an attempt to safeguard the historiographical basis of the existence of the Roman Catholic Church in England. The English invalidist members of the papal commission on Anglican orders, led by Gasquet, saw it as essential to emphasise the historical consistency of the Roman Catholic Church's rejection of Anglican orders and sacraments. In the course of the controversial conflict over the

⁶⁹⁸ 'The Archbishops' reply to Cardinal Vaughan', The Times 35463 (4 March 1898) 8.

validity of Anglican orders, in official and more ephemeral texts, Roman Catholics and Anglicans both used 'scientific' archival research to authenticate their particularist understanding of the nature of orders. This perpetuated and even reinforced the ontological opposition of Roman Catholic and Anglican sacramental theologies which had alienated the Churches since the early Reformation. Roman Catholics and Anglicans also attempted to defend incompatible understandings of the nature of catholicity which were shaped by a particularist historical paradigm. Ironically, this concentration on catholicity was intended to support an exclusivist understanding of the history of the Church, and to highlight the uncatholic practices of the opposing denomination.

The conflict over Anglican orders had important ramifications for the relationship between religion and English national identity, and there was significant public interest in the papal commission investigating Anglican orders, and in their condemnation. The popular appeal of the Roman Catholic Church was heightened by the impression it gave of respecting historical truth, and by the John Bullish virtue of plain-speaking displayed in Vaughan's attacks on Anglican ritualism. This channelled much residual English anti-Catholicism into anti-ritualism, and defused the inter-religious tensions which might have been anticipated following Leo's presumption in ruling the orders of the Church of England 'absolutely null and utterly void'. The controversial conflict over Anglican orders increased the sense that Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism held distinctive and irreconcilable approaches to history and religion, but that these were both tolerated within a more pluralistic English public sphere. Their conflict and coexistence was

made possible by the broadening of the boundaries of English public life:
ironically, the hardening of denominational boundaries indicated an
increasing popular acceptance of religious pluralism.

CHAPTER IV

CHURCH TRIUMPHANT: WORLD WAR ONE, THE BRITISH MISSION TO THE HOLY SEE, AND ENGLAND'S ACCEPTANCE OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM

This chapter demonstrates the practical implications of the change in English attitudes to Roman Catholicism between 1869 and 1914 for British foreign policy, and examines how attitudes to papal power between 1914 and 1919 assumed the compatibility of the best interests of Roman Catholicism and British national security. It concludes that by the end of World War One, the position of Roman Catholics within the English public sphere was more secure than ever before, and the idea that the Roman Catholic Church was a threat to the identity of the English nation, in and of itself, had been comprehensively discarded, except by an unrepresentative minority of Protestant militants.⁶⁹⁹ The involvement of English Roman Catholics in the war effort contributed to a general acknowledgement that the Roman Catholic Church in England was committed to serving the commonwealth. English Roman Catholics had demonstrated their patriotism beyond question, sending their sons to risk death on the battlefield,

⁶⁹⁹ There is a tension between the thesis' focus on the position of Roman Catholics in England, which reflects the dominance of the capital and the ancient English universities in Britain's intellectual culture until to the late nineteenth-century, and the war's concern for the national security of the wider national community of the United Kingdom. The greater persistence of anti-Catholic attitudes in Ireland and Scotland must be acknowledged, even though its decline in England – and the progress of that decline by World War One – is the focus of this thesis.

accompanied and comforted by many priests who served as military chaplains. Roman Catholic soldiers and sailors killed in the war were memorialised as English martyrs, but the Jesuitical overtones which had been attached to that term by Protestants were transformed. These men were not traitors; they had been martyred in the nation's defence of a broadly-defined Christian civilisation.⁷⁰⁰

The sense that English Roman Catholics could be loyal to the state, but only in spite of their membership of an international Church, was also challenged by the war, though English Roman Catholics worked harder than ever to distinguish their faith from any association it might have with Irish nationalism. Where anti-Catholic tropes maintained a resonance in specific areas of English society, they were often associated with Irish rather than English Roman Catholics. By 1919, English Roman Catholics did not have to appeal to a tradition of independence from Rome and their European co-religionists to justify their commitment to the British nation-state. An obvious change in the relationship between cultural constructions of the Roman Catholic Church and the nation had occurred. This chapter argues that increasing levels of open co-operation between the British government and the institutions of the Roman Catholic Church, chiefly through Britain's newly established diplomatic relationship with the Holy See, contributed to the re-definition of English Roman Catholic identity in this way. The chapter offers the first archival analysis of the establishment and early

⁷⁰⁰ It is significant that the memorial to the war dead commissioned for Westminster Cathedral in 1915 was sited in the chapel of St George and the English martyrs. l'Hôpital, Westminster Cathedral and its Architect, 193–194.

activities of the permanent British Mission to the Holy See. Though the thesis continues to focus primarily on the effect of these diplomatic relations on the position of Roman Catholics in England, it also traces some thematically relevant aspects of the Anglo–Vatican diplomatic relationship throughout the war. Finally, it illustrates the acceptability of Roman Catholicism, and its ecclesiology, in a few representative examples of the assured articulation of catholic impulses in the English public sphere. These were acknowledged in the immediate aftermath of the war as providing a necessary contribution to the social and pastoral needs of British society outside the Roman Catholic Church. They indicate that Roman Catholic traditions were being absorbed into England’s cultural mainstream, through the social teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and even in the liturgies of the Church of England.

The chapter begins with an overview of Anglo–Vatican relations between the Middle Ages and the twentieth-century, in order to show how innovative the British Mission to the Holy See of 1914 was. It was a rejection of all the conventions of post–Reformation British foreign policy. This had been defined by its commitment to an exclusively Protestant national identity: even when making pragmatic international alliances, Britain’s foreign policy had denied official acknowledgement to the institution of the Papacy. The chapter then examines the foundation and early policy objectives of the British Mission to the Holy See, observing that the accreditation of a British diplomatic mission to the Pope during World War One was only possible because an older anti–Catholic definition of the nation had been largely dismissed from popular constructions of the nation’s

past by the early twentieth-century. This thesis has already argued that by 1914 a new awareness of England's Roman Catholic roots had eroded the symbiotic identification between the nation and anti-Catholicism. In the first months of the war, the potential advantages to British national security of cultivating a diplomatic relationship with the Vatican were also recognised. The benefits accruing from improved Anglo-Vatican relations during World War One, and a general sense that the Pope represented a European moral order the Entente powers were fighting for, even destroyed England's old opposition to the defining Roman Catholic belief in papal authority. The Mission was so successful and aroused so little controversy in England that, by 1919, it had become, *de facto*, a permanent establishment. The recognition that there was no danger to the nation-state in Roman Catholic allegiance to the Pope, and that such allegiance could even prove an asset to the governance of the British Empire, led to the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities relating to bequests and religious orders in the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1926, just in time for the centenary of Roman Catholic legal emancipation.⁷⁰¹

There are a small number of studies which have examined the conduct of Anglo-Vatican diplomacy during World War One, and provide a context for this chapter. Thomas Hachey edited the annual reports of the British Mission to the Holy See as Anglo-Vatican Relations, 1914-1939; however, since the Mission did not produce annual reports during World War One,

⁷⁰¹ Aspden, Fortress Church, 174.

Hachey's title was misleading.⁷⁰² Some of Gasquet's contributions to the British Mission are detailed in Shane Leslie's biography, but neither Gasquet nor Leslie was wholly reliable in their judgement, and both had a tendency to over-estimate Gasquet's contribution to setting the agenda of Anglo-Vatican diplomacy.⁷⁰³ William Renzi considered the propagandistic role of the British Mission to the Holy See in In the Shadow of the Sword, but his attention to the place of the Papacy in international relations formed only a section of his wider project examining causes for Italy's entry into the war on the side of the Entente powers.⁷⁰⁴ Another study with a larger focus in which the British Mission received a cameo was John Pollard's The Unknown Pope.⁷⁰⁵ This apparent neglect of the work of the British Mission to the Holy See during World War One is in contrast to the attention that has been given to Irish diplomatic representation at the Holy See in the work of Dermot Keogh.⁷⁰⁶ Indeed, Keogh's detailed evaluation of Hiberno-Vatican diplomatic history has, because of the lack of a detailed study of the origins of Anglo-Vatican diplomacy, led to an underestimation of the successes of the British Mission to the Holy See in countering Irish nationalism. Keogh's pupil, Jérôme de Wiel, has seen Benedict XV (1854–1922) as easily

⁷⁰² Anglo-Vatican Relations, 1914–1939: Confidential Annual Reports of the British Ministers to the Holy See, ed. Thomas Hachey (G.K. Hall: Boston, MA, 1972).

⁷⁰³ Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 212, 236.

⁷⁰⁴ William Renzi, In the Shadow of the Sword: Italy's Neutrality and Entrance into the Great War, 1914–1915 (Peter Lang: NY, 1987) 153–161.

⁷⁰⁵ John Pollard, Benedict XV: The Unknown Pope (Geoffrey Chapman: 2000).

⁷⁰⁶ Dermot Keogh, The Vatican, the Bishops and Irish Politics (CUP: Cambridge, 1986); Keogh, Ireland and the Vatican: The Politics and Diplomacy of Church–State Relations 1822–1960 (Cork University Press: Cork, 1995).

manipulated into supporting Irish nationalists during World War One by the *Pontificio Collegio Irlandese*, and British influence in Rome during the same period as negligible.⁷⁰⁷

There has been almost as little attention paid to the possibility that an examination of long-term trends in Anglo-Vatican diplomacy might indicate changing English attitudes to Roman Catholicism. The idea that English anti-Vaticanism mirrored prevailing anti-Catholic attitudes does inform several detailed studies focussing on short periods in the nineteenth-century, such as C.T. McIntire's England against the Papacy, 1858–1861, James Flint's Great Britain and the Holy See: the Diplomatic Relations Question, 1846–1852, and Saho Matsumoto-Best's Britain and the Papacy in the Age of Revolution, 1846–1851.⁷⁰⁸ These, along with Matthias Buschkühl's dense narrative in Great Britain and the Holy See, 1746–1870, have provided framing material for the section of this chapter on the pre-twentieth-century history of Anglo-Vatican relations.⁷⁰⁹ However, McIntire and Matsumoto-Best's works were fundamentally synchronic studies, examining how particular incidents in Anglo-Vatican diplomacy provided

⁷⁰⁷ Jérôme de Wiel, 'Monsignor O'Riordan, Bishop O'Dwyer and the Shaping of New Relations between Nationalist Ireland and the Vatican during World War One', *Archivium Hibernicum* 53 (1999) 95–106.

⁷⁰⁸ McIntire, England against the Papacy, 1858–1861 (CUP: 1983); James Flint, Great Britain and the Holy See: the Diplomatic Relations Question, 1846–1852 (Catholic University of America Press: Washington, 2003); Saho Matsumoto-Best, Britain and the Papacy in the Age of Revolution, 1846–1851 (Boydell: Woodbridge, 2003).

⁷⁰⁹ Matthias Buschkühl, Great Britain and the Holy See, 1746–1870 (Irish Academic Press: Dublin, 1982).

foci for Protestant protest in Britain. They did not examine long-term changes in the relationship between Britain and the Vatican to show the links between the mutations of Anglo-Vatican diplomacy, diminishing British anti-Catholicism, and transformations in English national identity. This chapter does not have room to provide a detailed analysis of Anglo-Vatican diplomacy over some 500 years, which would be the ideal way to demonstrate these relationships. However, it does offer a brief overview of post-Reformation contact between Britain and the Papacy, in order to stress the discontinuity of the nation-state's confessional rejection of the Papacy prior to 1914, and its acknowledgement of the value of Roman authority thereafter. In addition, since the thesis argues that debates over the role of religion in the public sphere in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century England were suffused with a historical consciousness, it is useful to examine English attitudes to papal diplomacy prior to the time-frame of the thesis. These provided the dominant historical context within which changes to Anglo-Vatican relations and the position of Roman Catholics in England occurred, and were understood to occur. Contemporaries were aware of how innovative a British Mission to the Holy See was, though to modern observers (reading thirty years after it became an Embassy) a British diplomatic presence at the Vatican might seem a normal feature of the Foreign Office's work on faith-based international relations and development. A recognition of the innovative character of the British Mission to the Holy See supports the assertion of the chapter that this change in Anglo-Vatican diplomacy reflected increasingly pluralistic attitudes to Roman Catholicism in England. The originality of that argument

is grounded in a sense that the nation's relationship with the Vatican was a diplomatic expression of British national identity.

'Forced ... to exclude that foreign pretended power' from 1536 to 1914

Diplomatic relations between England and the Holy See existed in the later Middle Ages on something like the model prevailing today. There was often a resident ambassador appointed by the English crown to the papal court, in order to represent England at the curia. Prior to the 1520s, agents of the government, including the ambassador, would have spent much of their time supervising the progress of legal cases at Rome, because of the way papal authority was acknowledged to extend over English ecclesiastical courts.⁷¹⁰

The primary loyalty of the ambassador, despite his involvement with the apparatus of ecclesiastical justice, would have been to the institution of the English monarchy. Indeed, that overruled his allegiance to a particular monarch or the interests of the Church. In the 1480s John Shirwood (*d.* 1493), Bishop of Durham, was sent to the papal court as the representative of Richard III (1452–1485) and remained there to represent Henry VII (1457–1509).⁷¹¹ Between 1527 and 1533 English ambassadors, led by the native Roman Gregorio Casali, lobbied the Pope to ignore canon law, endanger his relations with the Holy Roman Empire, and annul Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon. The ambassador would have been assisted in carrying out these duties by a Cardinal Protector of the nation,

⁷¹⁰ R.H. Helmholz, Roman Canon Law in Reformation England (CUP: Cambridge, 1990) 30–34, 37–38.

⁷¹¹ Rosemary Horrox, 'Richard III (1452–1485)'; A.J. Pollard, 'Shirwood, John (*d.* 1493)', ODNB; S.J. Gunn, 'Henry VII (1457–1509)', ODNB.

whose relationships and standing in the curia would have given the envoy privileged access to the Pope and his court.⁷¹² It could be argued that the role of Cardinal Protector of England was unofficially resumed, and most forcefully fulfilled in the period after 1914, by Gasquet.

Formal diplomatic relations between England and Rome lapsed at the time of the Reformation. In 1532 Henry VIII's (1491–1547) parliament passed the Act in Restraint of Appeals, which limited papal jurisdiction over the English ecclesiastical courts.⁷¹³ In 1533 it passed the Act for the Submission of the Clergy, giving the crown power to define and alter canon law. Henry's assumption of the royal supremacy was accompanied by a repudiation of direct contact with the papal court, and he recalled his ambassadors in August 1533.⁷¹⁴ After his excommunication, Henry took the final legislative steps necessary to exclude the 'foreign pretended power' of the Pope from England in 1536.⁷¹⁵ This was a sign that the English state no longer acknowledged the Pope as possessing a sovereign power, or the Bishop of Rome as anything more than a foreign ecclesiastic. After a brief restoration of ambassadorial relations in the reign of Mary I, these were again terminated in 1559, when, resuming the royal supremacy exercised by her father, Elizabeth I ordered her envoy Edward Carne (1496–1561) home

⁷¹² William Wilkie, The Cardinal Protectors of England: Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation (CUP: Cambridge, 1974).

⁷¹³ E. W. Ives, 'Henry VIII (1491–1547)', ODNB.

⁷¹⁴ Catherine Fletcher, Our Man in Rome: Henry VIII and his Italian Ambassador (Bodley Head: 2012) 189.

⁷¹⁵ Fletcher, Our Man in Rome, 192.

from the papal court.⁷¹⁶ Thereafter, the concept of ambassadorial relations between England and the Papacy was repudiated. It was tainted by association with the exercise of papal authority in England, and was later seen as an essential part of the history of the Marian burnings and the repression of the new religion. Bloodied by the 'mid-Tudor crisis' and further embattled by later threats of Roman Catholic invasion or rebellion, it became impossible for a state increasingly defined by its Protestantism to resume diplomatic relations with the Papacy.⁷¹⁷ The ideological opposition to recognising the papal claim to jurisdiction in England became encoded in both the law and the received history of the nation.

While official contact with Rome was disavowed in England, and indeed later generations of Britons believed it to have been forbidden by Elizabethan statute, covert relations with the Holy See continued to play an important role in British foreign policy after 1559.⁷¹⁸ This communication was often driven by the mutual interest England and the Papacy shared in maintaining international stability and the balance of power in Europe. Secret correspondence was exchanged between England and Rome between 1563 and 1565, in which Pius IV attempted to convince Elizabeth to return to the Roman Catholic fold. Elizabeth's cordial response to this ecclesial

⁷¹⁶ Edward Carne represented Henry VIII, Mary I and Elizabeth I at Rome, and remained there as warden of the English Hospice after he had been commanded home by Elizabeth. He is buried at *Santi Andrea e Gregorio Magno al Monte Celio*. L.E. Hunt, 'Carne, Edward (c.1496–1561)', *ODNB*.

⁷¹⁷ David Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545–1565* (Palgrave-Macmillan: 1992); Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (YUP: New Haven, CT, 2010).

⁷¹⁸ Buschkuhl, *Great Britain and the Holy See*, 65.

courtship was designed to put off a papal deposition and mollify Roman Catholic reactions to her religious settlement.⁷¹⁹ Her excommunication and deposition by Pius V in the bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, coming shortly after the Roman Catholic rising in the North, destroyed all toleration for the concept of papal authority in the realm of England. It also undermined the possibility that Roman Catholic religious practices might be tolerated within the Protestant realm. John Bossy has argued that this forced English recusants, definitively cut off from the pan-European worldview of the medieval church, to develop a distinctive nonconformist identity for the first time.⁷²⁰

After the union of the English and Scottish crowns, diplomatic contact between Britain and the Holy See continued in a semi-clandestine manner designed to avoid the British government having to acknowledge papal authority. This contact continued even though the role of the papacy in the English historical narrative was becoming increasingly associated with violent assaults against the Protestant religion as it was practised in England. Indeed, between the foiling of the Gunpowder plot and the perceived providential evidence of God's hatred for the Jesuitical nature of

⁷¹⁹ Kenneth Bartlett, 'Papal Policy and the English Crown, 1563–1565: The Bertano Correspondence', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 23.4 (1992) 643–659.

⁷²⁰ John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (DLT: 1975). Bossy's argument has been critiqued by, Christopher Haigh, 'The Fall of a Church or the Rise of a Sect? Post-Reformation Catholicism in England', *HJ* 21.1 (1978) 181–186.

Roman religion, these were formative years for English anti-Catholicism.⁷²¹

It seemed that to engage in open dialogue with the Papacy would be to undermine the security of the state which was guaranteed, under God, by the concept of the royal supremacy. Direct contact would have offended the Protestant sensibilities of the nation, and gone back on an ever-growing tradition of official estrangement between Britain and Rome. Temporary missions from London to Rome, and vice-versa, were, however, carried out by unaccredited individuals between 1621 and 1687, and later between 1772 and 1914.⁷²² Such missions were generally of a limited duration. They ceased entirely during the period when the Pope supported the Jacobite cause, and this caesura did not only reflect the threat the Jacobites posed to the security of the nation; it spoke of a particular alienation between the Papacy and the Hanoverian regime, because of the influence of the exiled Stuart court in Roman society.⁷²³

⁷²¹ Carol Wiener, 'The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism', *P&P* 51 (1971) 27–62; Alexandra Walsham, "'The Fatall Vesper': Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London', *P&P* 144 (1994) 36–87.

⁷²² For details of occasional missions until 1847, see Buschkühl, *Great Britain and the Holy See* 16, 19–20, 21–22, 26, 26–27, 29–32, 35–36, 41, 47, 50, 62, 64, 66, 69, 72, 75, 81. Haydon and J.C.D. Clark point out that Britain's eighteenth century anti-Catholicism neither prevented alliances with European powers, nor war with its Protestant colonies in America. Haydon, 'Eighteenth Century English Anti-Catholicism: Contexts, Continuity and Diminution', *Protestant-Catholic Conflict from the Reformation to the Twenty-First Century*, 46–70:49; Clark 'Protestantism, Nationalism and National Identity 1660–1832', *HJ* 43 (2000) 249–276:261.

⁷²³ Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719–1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile* (CUP: NY, 2011).

The agents who conducted these unaccredited missions often travelled, officially speaking, in a private capacity: for example, Charles Erskine (1739–1811, later Cardinal) was sent to the British court by the Pope in 1793 to negotiate a repeal of the penal laws. His mission was an open secret, but ostensibly he was on a highly extended visit to his family in Scotland (he remained in Britain until 1801).⁷²⁴ These temporary missions demonstrated how Britain and the Papacy recognised their shared priorities in maintaining the European balance of power. They collaborated to guarantee each other's international security, notably during the Napoleonic wars when Britain was involved in efforts to restore the Papal States, and the Pope in return suggested it might be possible for the British government to exercise a veto on the appointment of Irish prelates critical of the Union of 1800.⁷²⁵ Indeed, it seems as though many of the British missions to the Pope were motivated by a hope that he would help to pacify Ireland.⁷²⁶ In addition to the covert exchanges of courtesies fundamentally based on self-interest, great personal esteem existed between individual members of British and papal courts. In 1814 Ercole Consalvi (1757–1824), Cardinal Secretary of State, expressed the Pope's 'admiration, friendship and attachment' toward the Prince Regent, and was in return received in England with 'such marks of benevolence and kindness ... as could [only] with difficulty have been exceeded'.⁷²⁷ Nevertheless, Consalvi's master

⁷²⁴ Buschkühl, Great Britain and the Holy See, 30–31.

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.* 46–48.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.* 45–63.

⁷²⁷ Nicholas Wiseman, Recollections of the Last Four Popes and of Rome in their Times (Hurst and Blackett: 1858) 112.

remained beyond the pale of open diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom.

From 1816, the increasing volume of trade between Britain and the Papal States and the number of British subjects completing the Grand Tour made it necessary that there should be a British consul resident at Rome. Rather than accredit a diplomat to the papal court, however, the British government preferred to detach a junior member of the British Legation to Florence and send them to live in Rome.⁷²⁸ The consul was not permitted to conduct diplomatic business with the Papacy. In the same year, in a diplomatic fiction, the British government began to use the Hanoverian minister to the Holy See to communicate with the Pope.⁷²⁹ Since George III was King of Hanover as well as of Britain, the two states were under his personal union; the Prince Regent could communicate with Leo XII as the son of the King of Hanover, informing him of the policies of the British government, without compromising his father's identity as the King of Britain. These circumlocutions allowed the British government to persuade the Papacy to nominate bishops in favour of the British interest in Ireland and Canada without opening public communication with the Pope.⁷³⁰

During the early nineteenth-century, the Papacy repeatedly attempted to normalise diplomatic relations between Britain and the Holy See, especially

⁷²⁸ For details of the successive consuls, see Buschkühl, Great Britain and the Holy See, 59, 73, 81.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.* 59.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.* 62–63.

in anticipation of Roman Catholic emancipation.⁷³¹ However, in the aftermath of the 1829 act, the idea of confronting the country with a British ambassador to the Pope or, worse, a nuncio in London, could not have seemed the best way to placate Protestant opinion. The legal emancipation of Roman Catholics enraged Ulster, where sectarian riots broke out.⁷³² Later in the century, the government of Lord John Russell (1792–1878, later Earl Russell), MP for the City of London, attempted to give parliamentary licence to formal relations with the Papacy.⁷³³ Russell believed a parliamentary warrant was necessary to send the Earl of Minto (1782–1859), to Italy in order to encourage Pius IX to issue instructions to the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland restraining Irish nationalism.⁷³⁴ He also hoped it might be possible to establish a permanent diplomatic relationship with the Holy See following the Minto mission. In the event, the Minto mission was short, following the old model of informal personal diplomacy, and accomplished only the embarrassment of the government after the supposedly liberal Pius repeated his condemnation of the government's Irish university policy.⁷³⁵

⁷³¹ Ibid. 58.

⁷³² Suzanne Kingon, 'Ulster Opposition to Catholic Emancipation, 1828–9', Irish Historical Studies 34.134 (2004) 137–155:154.

⁷³³ Matsumoto–Best, Britain and the Papacy, 90–101; John Prest, 'Russell, John (1792–1878)', ODNB.

⁷³⁴ Wolffe, The Protestant Crusade, 232–233; Matsumoto–Best, Britain and the Papacy, 57–62, 92; Alsager Vian, 'Kynynmound, Gilbert (1782–1859)', rev. Matthew, ODNB.

⁷³⁵ Machin, Politics and the Churches, 1832–1868, 211–212; Matsumoto–Best, Britain and the Papacy, 51–53, 60, 69–70, 94.

The legal framework Russell attempted to establish for Anglo–Vatican relations is of greater interest. A particular statutory warrant for the mission was felt to be necessary because by 1848 it was believed that the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement might make any communication with the Papacy – however informal – illegal. Eventually a bill to make it clear that the ‘communion’ prohibited by those acts was only to be interpreted as referring to ecclesiastical communion, and that therefore diplomatic relations could exist between the British government and the Papacy, was passed as the Act to Legalise Diplomatic Relations with the Court of Rome.⁷³⁶ However, the authority of the Holy See remained a controversial aspect of Roman Catholic identity. The danger posed by any acknowledgement of papal authority had been drummed into the national psyche by generations of anti–Catholic polemic, and Protestant campaigning organisations still saw opposition to Roman obedience as vital to the integrity of the realm. Indeed, they claimed the relationship between Irish Roman Catholics and the Pope was one of the most insidious aspects of Roman Catholic identity, and campaigned to prohibit the receipt of papal *bullae* by British Roman Catholics.⁷³⁷ The introduction of a bill to permit diplomatic relations with the court of Rome led to anti–Catholic protests that turned the Act into an insult to the Pope. Wolffe has seen this

⁷³⁶ House of Commons Debate (17 August 1848) Hansard, ser.3, vol.101, 201–234, <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com>; Julian Reynolds, ‘Politics vs Persuasion: The Attempt to Establish Anglo–Roman Diplomatic Relations in 1848’, CHR 71.3 (1985) 372–393:373–374.

⁷³⁷ The Papal Bull ‘In Coena Domini’ Translated into English with a Short Historical Introduction (J. Hatchard: 1848); Papal Diplomacy and the Bull ‘In Coena Domini’ (J. Hatchard: 1848); Wolffe, The Protestant Crusade, 130.

opposition to communication with the Pope and concurrent endowment in Ireland as a sustained anti-Catholic attack which weakened Russell's administration.⁷³⁸

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington (1769–1852), added an amendment which stated that in presenting the bill, the government intended to open relations with the Pope solely as the sovereign of the Papal States, and not as the Bishop of Rome.⁷³⁹ This figurative separation of Roman Catholic Church from Roman Catholic state allowed some Protestants to reconcile themselves to the bill, but underestimated how much recent liberalisation of the curia had made it possible for the Pope to assume such a separation between his secular and spiritual 'bodies'.⁷⁴⁰ A second amendment, also passed in the Lords, made it impossible for Russell to move toward reciprocal diplomatic relations with the Papacy. The Earl of Eglinton (1812–1861) attached an amendment forbidding the Pope from sending an ecclesiastic to London as nuncio, in case a papal embassy became a 'nucleus for Jesuits' and their treasonous plotting.⁷⁴¹ This was highly offensive to the Papacy.⁷⁴² It implied the Roman Catholic Church remained a threat to the safety of the realm, and many parliamentarians showed they still believed this by voting for it. The irony of this position, at

⁷³⁸ Ibid. 235–237.

⁷³⁹ Matsumoto-Best, Britain and the Papacy, 91; Norman Gash, 'Wellesley, Arthur, (1769–1852)', ODNB.

⁷⁴⁰ Matsumoto-Best, Britain and the Papacy, 96–97.

⁷⁴¹ Machin, Politics and the Churches, 1832–1868, 214; Mary Millar, 'Montgomerie, Archibald (1812–1861)', ODNB.

⁷⁴² Matsumoto-Best, Britain and the Papacy, 95.

a time when the government was desperate for the Pope to use his influence to stabilise their control of Ireland, was apparently lost on the future Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.⁷⁴³

In the House of Commons, the bill provoked speeches against its intention to allow communication with the court of Rome, from Protestant parliamentarians such as Robert Inglis (1786–1855), MP for Oxford University, and a petition against the bill was signed by 46 000 Protestants.⁷⁴⁴ Charles Newdegate (1816–1887), MP for North Warwickshire, feared the bill would legalise the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction in Britain, and then the establishment of his temporal power would not be far behind, sweeping aside the royal supremacy and the Church of England.⁷⁴⁵ Even Roman Catholics protested against the bill, fearing that British diplomatic representation at Rome would allow the government to outflank the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland in its dealings with the papal court.⁷⁴⁶ The English vicars apostolic, particularly Wiseman, may have worried that direct diplomatic relations between Britain and the Holy See would render their position as favoured mediators of the Anglo–Vatican relationship obsolete. Because of the obvious antipathy of British parliamentarians and the wider public toward the Papacy, and perhaps also because of the lobbying of the Irish hierarchy at Rome, the Pope neither

⁷⁴³ Eglinton was Lord Lieutenant in Lord Derby's government in 1852 and 1858–1859.

⁷⁴⁴ Matsumoto–Best, *Britain and the Papacy*, 99; Reynolds, 'Politics vs Persuasion', 386, 390; Wolffe, 'Inglis, Robert (1786–1855)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁴⁵ House of Commons Debate (24 August 1848) *Hansard*, ser.3, vol.101, 498–514; Wolffe, 'Newdegate, Charles (1816–1887)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁴⁶ Reynolds, 'Politics vs Persuasion', 387.

accepted or rejected the possibility of opening formal diplomatic relations with Britain on the basis of the Act of 1848.⁷⁴⁷ Once the bill passed into law, Russell also unceremoniously abandoned the issue.

Further diplomatic rapprochement between the British government and the Vatican was made impracticable, initially by the risings in Rome which began in November 1848. These destroyed Pius' liberal sympathies and his commitment to the gradual reform of papal government; they also began to undermine his sovereignty over the Papal States.⁷⁴⁸ Subsequently, the public backlash which followed the erection of a Roman Catholic episcopal hierarchy in England and Wales in 1850 lent new passion to the nation's historic opposition to the recognition or exercise of papal authority in England.⁷⁴⁹ Once he sensed the strength of this public anti-Catholicism, Russell became one of the most strident opponents of this 'Papal Aggression'.⁷⁵⁰ His probable knowledge of the plan to establish a hierarchy, through information shown to the Earl of Minto by the Pope and personal conversations with Wiseman, made it imperative that he distance himself from its erection.⁷⁵¹ Russell was forced to take a symbolic stand against the presumptuous 'Letter from the Flaminian Gate' in the Ecclesiastical Titles

⁷⁴⁷ Matsumoto-Best, Britain and the Papacy, 100.

⁷⁴⁸ Frank Coppa, 'Papal Rome in 1848: From Reform to Revolution,' Consortium on Revolutionary Europe 1750–1850: Proceedings 8 (1979) 93–103.

⁷⁴⁹ Matsumoto-Best, Britain and the Papacy, 147–154.

⁷⁵⁰ Ralls, 'The Papal Aggression of 1850', 243; Machin, Politics and the Churches, 1832–1868, 209–228.

⁷⁵¹ Machin, Politics and the Churches, 1832–1868, 213; Matsumoto-Best, Britain and the Papacy, 146.

Act, and to retreat from his intention to pursue further pro-Catholic policies.⁷⁵² The question of diplomatic relations with the Pope was too provocative for him to raise again.

In 1870 the secretary to the Florence Legation resident in Rome, Henry Jervoise, was withdrawn due to international Protestant pressure, and between 1881 and 1902 there were only occasional missions of semi-official agents such as George Errington (1839–1920), MP for County Longford, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Denbeigh (1859–1939) to Rome.⁷⁵³ In 1875 the Foreign Office and the Statute Law Revision Committee agreed that the act of 1848 was obsolete and should be repealed, but that no long-term diplomatic contact with the Papacy was to be licensed.⁷⁵⁴ Between 1559 and 1914, the political and cultural estrangement of Britain and Rome meant that no English diplomat was sent as an ambassador to the Pope; no agent of the crown was accredited to the Holy See or regularly resident in Rome for the purpose of communicating with the Papacy. The last attempt prior to 1914 to put Anglo-Vatican diplomacy on a sound footing had been disastrous. Insulting to the Pope, it had compromised the Russell government and demonstrated the overwhelming

⁷⁵² Wiseman, Nicholas, Bishop of Melipotamus, and Vicar Apostolic of the London District, to our Dearly Beloved Children in Christ ... (J. Booker: 1849); Machin, Politics and the Churches, 1832–1868, 222–227; Matsumoto-Best, Britain and the Papacy, 161–163, 167–169, 171.

⁷⁵³ Buschkühl, Great Britain and the Holy See, 171–173.

⁷⁵⁴ Keogh, 'The Secret Agreement: Anglo-Vatican Relations in the Twentieth Century', Irish Studies in International Affairs 1.3 (1982) 82–103:86.

anti-Catholicism that defined British public life for much of the nineteenth-century.

The Foundations of the British Mission to the Holy See

Most of the important foundations of the British Mission to the Holy See lay outside the normal political and diplomatic sphere. Wartime expediency motivated the British government to approach the Papacy in 1914 to propose a Mission be sent to the Holy See under the direction of Henry Howard (1843–1921), a retired senior member of the diplomatic service. The Mission was initially focused on working to ensure the papal court did not become viewed as a mouthpiece for the cause of the Central Powers. Foreign Office reports portrayed the curia as riddled with German sympathisers, and this was one of the reasons why the British government thought it imperative to send Howard to Rome.⁷⁵⁵ A papal statement in favour of the Central Powers would have done immense harm to the credibility of the Entente in neutral countries, particularly those with large Roman Catholic populations, such as the United States of America. It could also have deeply damaged the stability of those parts of the British Empire with large Roman Catholic populations, chiefly Australia, India and Canada, and made Irish public opinion even more difficult to reconcile to the war. The Mission was further intended to limit sustained papal advocacy for Italian neutrality, and thereby support efforts to convince the kingdom of Italy to enter the war on the side of the Entente powers. However, the inauguration of the Mission and its accomplishments in these areas of policy

⁷⁵⁵ TNA, FO 800/67, James Gregory to William Tyrrell (31 December 1914) 6v, 7v.

should not just be seen in the context of the proximate political and military causes for its dispatch.

A growing appreciation of the role Roman Catholicism played – and had played historically – in the life of the nation made it possible to send the British Mission to the Holy See. The development of a historical narrative stressing the role of the Roman Catholic Church in binding together civil society, has been traced over the previous chapters. Without the broad cultural endorsement for the increasing prominence of the Roman Catholic Church in the English public sphere this provided, British representation at the Vatican would have been met by popular Protestant protests. Had an important cultural shift in favour of the improved position of Roman Catholicism not already been underway by 1914, the Mission could not have gone ahead in the open manner which it did. The most that might have been acceptable would have been a short visit to Rome by a distinguished but ultimately private individual, like the Duke of Norfolk, to convey the opinions of the British government to the Pope. The innovation of a British mission accredited to the Vatican and headed by a professional, if – as in the case of Howard – superannuated diplomat, was a sign that the popular view of the Roman Catholic Church in England was increasingly positive. The English people were becoming convinced not only that Roman Catholics were, as individuals, to be trusted, but that their religion, including its curial hierarchy, was a potential asset to be courted in the interests of national security. The war itself then acted as a further catalyst to this process of Roman Catholic cultural emancipation.

The subtle, long-term mediation of the Anglo-Vatican relationship by English men and women resident in Rome also prepared the ground for the Mission. The enthusiastic reception given to Howard, and his ability to operate effectively in the Vatican, was facilitated by their preceding articulation of British national identity within curial circles. Matsumoto-Best has highlighted the important contribution made by James Rennell Rodd (1858–1941, later Baron Rennell), British ambassador to the Kingdom of Italy, to the process of developing an appreciation for Britain in Rome.⁷⁵⁶ Matsumoto-Best argued that Rodd used his cultural interests and capital to establish a network of influential contacts within the Italian government and create an atmosphere in which he could discuss high politics with them. The relationships forged under these conditions convinced a number of Italian ministers that there were clear material benefits to Italy joining the Entente powers.⁷⁵⁷ Rodd's work, though not directed towards the Holy See, helped build a positive profile throughout Roman society for Britain's engagement with European civilisation. Similarly, Christina Loong has examined how, once Italy had declared war on the Central Powers, the Anglo-Florentine community worked to develop an effective way of projecting and promoting Britishness in their city, through the foundation of the British Institute of Florence.⁷⁵⁸ By that time, however, Gasquet had been engaged in Rome for eight years in a far more interesting form of cultural diplomacy, because it

⁷⁵⁶ Percy Loraine, 'Rodd, James Rennell (1858–1941)', rev. Alan Campbell, *ODNB*.

⁷⁵⁷ Matsumoto-Best, 'The cultural diplomacy of Sir James Rennell Rodd', *On the Fringes of Diplomacy: Influences on British Foreign Policy, 1800–1945*, eds Anthony Best and John Fisher (Ashgate: Farnham, 2011) 209–224.

⁷⁵⁸ Christina Loong, "'Victory Will Be With Us": British Propaganda and Imperial Duty in Florence during World War One', *Twentieth Century British History* 23.3 (2012) 311–335.

incorporated an emphasis on England's Roman Catholic religious heritage as a major and increasingly positive factor in Anglo–Vatican relations. Gasquet's projection of British identity at the curia was of great importance to the diplomatic success of the Mission and influenced its attempts to articulate a moral case for the Entente's war aims within the Vatican. Gasquet lent the British Mission to the Holy See valuable historical and ethical ballast.

Gasquet had moved to Rome in 1907, when at Pius X's (1835–1914) command, he began to chair the commission for the revision of the Vulgate, based at the monastery of *Sant' Anselmo* on the Aventine Hill.⁷⁵⁹ This required that he live in Rome for part of the year. The commission caught the public imagination both in England and America, because of its aim to apply the fashionable techniques of textual criticism to the fragmented Vulgate text. It also demanded considerable organisational and fund-raising abilities that Gasquet exercised both within the curia and on tours of America.⁷⁶⁰ In May 1914, at the age of 67, Gasquet was elevated to the college of cardinals by Pius X, and it was popularly believed that this honour was due to the influential nature of his historical labours. He owed this new 'dignity to his vast learning dedicated to the interests of the Church during all his life in his historical studies'.⁷⁶¹ These were based on

⁷⁵⁹ 'The Revision of the Vulgate', *The Times* 38449 (27 September 1907) 9; 'Ecclesiastical Intelligence', *The Times* 38496 (21 November 1907) 7.

⁷⁶⁰ 'The Biblical Commission in Rome', *The Times* 39017 (21 July 1909) 5; Geoffrey Scott, 'Douai in Rome in the Twentieth Century: Abbot Philip Langdon (1858–1952)', Unpublished Conference Paper, 3.

⁷⁶¹ DA, GP, 909 Academia at S Anselmo, Cutting from *The Roman Review* (undated).

years of strenuous labour & memorable achievement which have rebounded not only to his own honour & distinction but have conferred signal benefits on the cause of sacred learning & of historic truth upon his house & order, & to the edification of the Church of God.⁷⁶²

Gasquet's associations as the only English cardinal in curia emphasised the theme of historical consciousness and continuity in his work, but these went well beyond an involvement with those areas of church policy that might naturally interest a historian. They demonstrated a conscious attempt to live out a narrative showing that the Roman relationship with England was entering a new phase of hope for the nation's reconversion. In addition to taking up the protectorate of the English seminaries in Rome, Gasquet devoted his efforts to reforming the administration of the *Venerabile Collegio Inglese* after a period of mismanagement there.⁷⁶³ As his titular church, he was granted first the diaconal church of John Henry Newman, *San Giorgio in Velabro*, and then *Santa Maria in Portico in Campitelli*, the site of a confraternity for the reconversion of England that had been sponsored by the Old Pretender, and the former titular church of Henry Stuart, sometimes called the Cardinal Duke of York, and Charles Erskine, unofficial papal ambassador to the court of George III.⁷⁶⁴ There was a fitting

⁷⁶² DA, Hugh Connolly Papers, 3557.vii.A.3.F., Richards, Cardinal Gasquet's Jubilee.

⁷⁶³ Acta Apostolicae Sedis, vol.7 (*Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis*: Rome, 1915) 469; James Hagerty, Cardinal Hinsley: Priest and Patriot (Family Publications: Oxford, 2008) 67–84.

⁷⁶⁴ Acta Apostolicae Sedis, vol.7, 514; Gilley, Newman and his Age, 415; Bernard Kelly, Life of Henry Benedict Stuart, Cardinal Duke of York (R. & T. Washbourne: 1899) 35, 40, 50.

continuity between his possession of this titular church and his concurrent involvement in Anglo–Vatican diplomacy, and in 1919 Gasquet produced an essay emphasising Erskine’s earlier pivotal role in the improvement of the relationship between Britain and the Holy See.⁷⁶⁵

Gasquet’s work on the Vulgate led to his close association with a number of international scholarly circles. He was particularly keen to promote the development of British historical research in the Vatican Archives, and that endeavour led to his involvement with The British School at Rome. He was elected as an honorary associate there in 1908 and an honorary student in 1919.⁷⁶⁶ He was a frequent visitor to the School, lecturing there in 1914 on the work of the Vulgate Commission, and enjoying the frequent soirees organised by the Assistant Director, Eugenie Strong, whose conversion to Roman Catholicism he inspired.⁷⁶⁷ The School had been established in 1901 to foster the study of Italian archaeology and history and promote Anglo–Italian contact. From 1915 it was installed, at Rennell Rodd’s suggestion, behind a Lutyens façade that brought St Paul’s Cathedral to the Borghese gardens.⁷⁶⁸ In 1909 Gasquet attempted to raise money for the underfunded

⁷⁶⁵ Gasquet, Great Britain and the Holy See, 1792–1806: a Chapter in the History of Diplomatic Relations between England and Rome (Desclée: Rome, 1919).

⁷⁶⁶ ‘Court Circular’, The Times 38563 (7 February 1908) 14; DA, GP, 886 Rome–General Ecclesiastical Affairs, J.S. Reid to Gasquet (11 December 1919).

⁷⁶⁷ DA, GP, 886 Rome–General Ecclesiastical Affairs, Thomas Ashby to Gasquet (2 May 1914); Girton College Cambridge, Eugenie Strong Papers, 2/5 (Clerics 2), Strong to Gasquet (5 September 1918).

⁷⁶⁸ Andrew Wallace–Hadrill, ‘The British School at Rome 1901–2001’, Papers of the British School at Rome 69 (2001) 19–34:43–49; Andrew Hopkins, ‘Lutyen’s Plans for the

historical side of the School by asking All Souls, Oxford, to fund a series of research studentships there to allow English scholars to engage with documents concerning British history in the Vatican archives. Successful scholars would have been subsequently granted fellowships at All Souls, to disseminate their research in English academia.⁷⁶⁹

Gasquet acted as the sponsor and advocate of the British Mission to the Holy See. His position in Roman society, at the intersection of curial and scholarly communities, was a great asset to its work, and he provided the Mission with a hospitable base of operations at his residence at the *Palazzo San Calisto*.⁷⁷⁰ Official functions could not occur at Howard's first residence in Rome, since he put up at the unfortunately named *Hotel Bavaria*. The later headquarters of the British Mission at the *Palazzo Borghese* do not seem to have been used for large receptions, and it would have been undiplomatic to ask members of the papal court to visit the grand British Embassy to the kingdom of Italy.⁷⁷¹ The receptions Gasquet organised in order to launch the Mission – grand parties for curial and Anglo–Roman society – were particular successes. These were ‘an

British School at Rome’, *Lutyens Abroad*, eds Andrew Hopkins and Gavin Stamp (The British School at Rome: 2002) 69–86.

⁷⁶⁹ DA, GP, 886 Rome–General Ecclesiastical Affairs, Henry Gundy to Gasquet (4 May 1909).

⁷⁷⁰ The rent for the *palazzo* was paid by the Vulgate Commission, which was funded by gifts from the Pope and large American donations. Therefore the Benedict XV was financially supporting the propaganda efforts of the British government at the Vatican. DA, GP, EBC Addenda (EBC Dom Wilfrid Corney & Dom Philip Langdon), Philip Langdon to Gasquet (28 May 1913), Langdon to Gasquet (4 July 1914).

⁷⁷¹ TNA, FO 800/67, Gregory to T. Russell (3 January 1915) 13.

impressive display with illuminated state-rooms, uniformed and liveried retainers and all the rest [and] gave the Mission a good send – off'.⁷⁷² It was 'an innovation for a Cardinal in Curia to thus lend his support to the representative of his own country on his arrival at Rome', but entertainment on this scale was designed to suggest that Britain was willing to establish its diplomatic relationship with the Papacy on a serious footing.⁷⁷³ Gasquet's *Palazzo* also served as a base for informal meetings, and the propagandist efforts of the Mission also fully involved his household.

Leslie has claimed, based on an extract from Gasquet's diaries, that Gasquet was the first person to suggest the establishment of a British diplomatic presence at the Vatican at the start of World War One.⁷⁷⁴ Gasquet was not an entirely trustworthy diarist, nor Leslie a notably accurate biographer, and there does not now seem to be significant corroborative evidence in the Gasquet papers, the Foreign Office papers or the Vatican archives to support Leslie's assertion. However, Leslie had remarkable access to Gasquet and, later, to his papers, and it is possible that he was correct to see Gasquet as the inspiration for the Mission. At the very least, Gasquet became a patronal figure for the first British diplomats to be formally accredited to the Vatican since the Reformation. If Gasquet did not suggest the Mission at the beginning of the war, he certainly helped set the tone of a new epoch in Anglo-Vatican relations. What is clear is that, in November 1914, the Duke of Norfolk was asked by the British government to recommend a diplomatic

⁷⁷² Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet*, 225.

⁷⁷³ TNA, CAB 37/123/40, Howard to Edward Grey (6 January 1915).

⁷⁷⁴ Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet*, 236.

Mission to the Pope by writing to a curial official of his acquaintance. Since Norfolk did not know Gasparri, who was by then Cardinal Secretary of State, he contacted Merry del Val, who had been dismissed from that post on Benedict's elevation to the Papacy. Norfolk asked him to bring the government's suggestion to Gasparri's attention. Norfolk presented the Mission as related to the special conditions of the war. A British Mission to the Holy See would provide an exceptional opportunity for the British Government to increase the Pope's awareness of Britain's position in international affairs:

at a time when so many rumours and reports of all sorts are flying about, it is very desirable that we should be in a position to offer for the just consideration of the Holy See such information as we deem it right should be known, and also the views which animate our policy in these anxious days.⁷⁷⁵

The Pope was keen to encourage permanent and reciprocal diplomatic relations between Britain and the Holy See, and he responded enthusiastically to Norfolk's suggestion. Indeed, when there was some confusion over the intended duration of the Mission, stemming from a telegram which implied its purpose might be limited to congratulating the new Pope on his election, Benedict worried that the Mission might be withdrawn after this expression of esteem. He regretted that a permanent ambassador was not to be appointed 'to the benefit of all concerned'.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷⁵ ASV, SS, 1915, 269a, 1, Fitzalan-Howard to Merry del Val (8 November 1914) 31v.

⁷⁷⁶ ASV, SS, 1915, 269a, 1, Pietro Gasparri to Grey (6 December 1914) 45. My translation from French.

When the nature of the Minister's role had been established as 'on a footing of [e]quality with all the regular representatives to the Holy See' and the British Government expressed its hope that '[t]he Mission will therefore, though it has a special and not a permanent character, not terminate with the congratulations he is instructed to offer nor will it be limited to that object', Benedict continued to express the hope that the Mission would be recognised as permanent.⁷⁷⁷

Following the enthusiastic response of the papal court to the British initiative, Howard, a Roman Catholic and a relative of the Dukes of Norfolk, was appointed as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Holy See.⁷⁷⁸ He arrived in Rome on 22 December 1914, and presented his credentials to the Pope on 30 December.⁷⁷⁹ As reported in a parliamentary note soon issued to the press, Howard was instructed that he should explain to Benedict that

his Majesty's Government are anxious to put themselves into direct communication with him for the purpose of demonstrating the motives which have governed their attitude since the first moment that the normal relations between the Great Powers of Europe began

⁷⁷⁷ ASV, SS, 1915, 269a, 1, James Rennell Rodd to Gasparri (9 December 1914) 52v–53, Acceptance of Howard's Mission (9 December 1914) 50.

⁷⁷⁸ ASV, SS, 1915, 269a, 1, ASV, Merry del Val to Fitzalan-Howard (17 November 1914) 29.

⁷⁷⁹ TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (29 December 1914) 1, Howard to Grey (30 December 1914).

to be disturbed, and of establishing that his Majesty's Government used every effort to maintain the peace of Europe.⁷⁸⁰

Howard was a highly experienced member of the diplomatic service; his peacetime career had terminated with a posting as Minister to The Hague between 1896 and 1908.⁷⁸¹ However he had never held ambassadorial rank, and this may have been a factor in favour of his appointment to the Holy See: he could not easily be referred to as the 'British Ambassador' there.⁷⁸² His age also underscored the ambiguous status of the Mission; since it made it likely his was a short-term appointment, and that the British presence at the Vatican might also be temporary. The British government shied away from giving this posting to the Holy See high-level accreditation, and in public was equivocal as to the duration of Howard's Mission, implying that it might be short-term, and then of indeterminate length, while hostilities lasted.⁷⁸³ It seems likely that this was an attempt to reduce potential anti-Catholic hostility to the Mission, rather than conveying any real uncertainty as to the Mission's long-term value or viability. In November 1914 Eric Drummond (1876–1951, later Earl of Perth), Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, told Gasquet that

in view of exciting public opinion in this country, it would not be possible for any Government at present to establish permanent

⁷⁸⁰ 'Envoy's Instructions', The Times 40741 (2 January 1915) 7.

⁷⁸¹ The London Gazette 26787 (20 October 1896) 12; 'Court Circular', The Times 38778 (15 October 1908) 11.

⁷⁸² House of Commons Debate (8 February 1915) Hansard ser.5, vol.69, 273.

⁷⁸³ ASV, SS, 1915, 269a, 1, Gasquet to Benedict XV (5 December 1914) 39; 'House of Commons', The Times 40770 (5 February 1915) 10.

diplomatic relations at the Holy See, but ... I cannot help feeling that, if the Vatican agrees to the present proposal of a Special Mission, it would render the sending of a permanent representative much less difficult ... [and this] might be a consequent result of Sir Henry Howard's Mission.⁷⁸⁴

It seems probable Gasquet suggested Howard as a suitable candidate to head the Mission, since they had been near-contemporaries at Downside School. Howard had returned to their *alma mater* in the summer of 1914 to celebrate the centenary of the settlement of St Gregory's monks at Downside and to greet Gasquet there after his elevation to the cardinalate.⁷⁸⁵ Indeed, on that occasion Gasquet invested Howard with the insignia of the Order of the Grand Cross of St. Gregory the Great, which the Pope had recently conferred on Howard.⁷⁸⁶ Howard's Downside connection was viewed as a great asset in his appointment by Merry del Val. He was accompanied on his posting to Rome by John Gregory, another professional diplomat, who had served in Vienna and Bucharest before the war. Gregory was a convert from Anglicanism to Roman Catholicism, and well known to Merry del Val.⁷⁸⁷ He cemented his reputation as a diplomatic high-flyer by acting as an assistant to Sir Edward Grey (1862–1933, later Viscount Grey) after his

⁷⁸⁴ DA, GP, 917, England and the Holy See (The Great War), Drummond to Gasquet (11 November 1914); Lorna Lloyd, 'Drummond, Eric (1876–1951)', ODNB.

⁷⁸⁵ DA, GP, 1990 Edmund Bishop Correspondence, Ceremonial at the Solemn Reception of His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet on Thursday July 9th 1914.

⁷⁸⁶ DA, GP, 1990 Edmund Bishop Correspondence, Downside Centenary 1914, Thursday July 9th.

⁷⁸⁷ ASV, SS, 1915, 269a, 1, Merry del Val to Gasparri (16 Nov 1914) 28.

return from Rome in 1915; thereafter he handled a major portion of Grey's correspondence with the Mission to the Holy See.⁷⁸⁸

As a professional diplomat, Howard was a contrast to the other agents accredited to the Vatican by the Entente powers. The Russian minister, Alexander Nelidow, may have been abrasive; his Orthodoxy would also have made it difficult for him to operate within the curia. The semi-official French agent, Duchesne, was associated personally with 'modernist heresy', and his state with secularist anti-Catholicism. The Belgian minister, Maximilian D'Erp, was popularly regarded as mentally incapable. This had been to the detriment of the Entente's advocacy at the papal court, as Gregory told William Tyrrell (1866–1947, later Baron Tyrrell), Grey's private secretary:

The trouble is that up till now, we, the Allies, have had absolutely no one to represent us here – at the Vatican. ~~Redd and~~ Gasquet has ~~ve~~ worked like Trojans – but for obvious reasons has ~~ve~~ been handicapped. There has been no Frenchman of course. Duchesne, who might have done something, lives at the Palazzo Farnese with Barrière, [and] is a cynic and suspect. D'Erp, the Belgian Minister, is 'gaga' and dangerous at that. Nelidow, the Russian, is merely rubbing them all up the wrong way. Consequently Mühleberg and Schönburg have had it all their own way and the Kaiser has been playing up to the Vatican for all he is worth. Gasparri & Pacelli admit quite freely

⁷⁸⁸ Robbins, 'Grey, Edward (1862–1933)', ODNB.

that they have never had the other side properly presented to them and they profess themselves ready to be educated.⁷⁸⁹

By default Howard became the Entente spokesman at the Holy See, and this was seen as the core work of the British Mission to the Papacy.

In 1916 Howard was replaced as British Minister to the Holy See by Charles de Salis (1864–1939), another Roman Catholic career diplomat, and formerly the Minister to Montenegro. The seventh Count de Salis, a creation of the Holy Roman Empire, he was also a hereditary papal knight.⁷⁹⁰

Therefore, like Howard, he was one of a small group of aristocratic Roman Catholics accepted at the highest levels of British and continental society. The British government took insufficient care over the diplomatic protocol concerning his appointment to the Vatican: he was announced in the British press as the new Minister before Benedict had agreed to receive him (or issued an *agrément*). In the correspondence that followed, this hasty approach was explained as necessary to avoid Protestant protests over the continuance of the Mission.

You are aware ... of the difficulties which we have to encounter from extreme Protestant quarters here in maintaining the British Mission at the Vatican. There is still a considerable amount of prejudice and we have to act very warily in the arrangements we make in regard to it. The decision to make a change in our representation could not be kept confidential for long, and, in order

⁷⁸⁹ TNA, FO 800/67, Gregory to Tyrell (10 January 1915) 16; Erik Goldstein, 'Tyrrell, William (1866–1947)', ODNB.

⁷⁹⁰ 'New British Envoy to the Pope', The Times 41248 (17 August 1916) 5.

to ... avert inconvenient attacks and awkward questions in Parliament, it was thought preferable, in the interest of the Mission which is also the interest of the Vatican, to anticipate the receipt of the Holy Father's *agrément* and no longer make a secret of the impending change ... the last thing in the world that the British Government would wish to do would be any act of discourtesy to His Holiness.⁷⁹¹

Since there seems to be no evidence that protests occurred, either in England or the wider United Kingdom, over the renewal of the Mission, such caution suggests the British government in 1916 were unwarrantedly scared of anti-Catholicism.

Combating the Pope of Peace: Wartime Policy Objectives of the British Mission to the Holy See

In laying Britain's case for going to war before the Pope, Howard hoped to convince Benedict of the justice of the Entente's cause. He at least intended that an awareness of the British position would prevent Benedict from speaking out on behalf of the Central Powers, or from being too fervent in his pursuit of peace initiatives favouring their interests. Since Germany was believed to see capturing Roman opinion as of primary importance, the first practical objective of the British Mission to the Holy See was to make a stand against German cultural dominance in the curia.⁷⁹² When he arrived in

⁷⁹¹ AAES, *Inghilterra*, 1916, pos. 222, fasc. 121, Gregory to Eugenio Pacelli (24 August 1916) 24–24v.

⁷⁹² TNA, FO 800/67, Gregory to Tyrell (10 January 1915) 15.

Rome, Howard believed that the Pope had entirely accepted the propaganda of the Central Powers, and Benedict existed in a state of ignorance as to the true extent of German atrocities in Belgium. The German Legation had been busy 'making out that the atrocities committed by the Allied troops are those of which he should really take cognisance'.⁷⁹³

When Howard presented his credentials to Benedict, however, he was careful to emphasise that his role in Rome would not only be to persuade the Pope of the justice of the Entente's position. In fact, he abandoned an inflammatory draft speech which focused on the iniquities of German actions in Belgium, in favour of something 'colourless', having been advised that the Pope could not be expected to reply to such an impassioned address within the conventions of a public audience.⁷⁹⁴ Instead of denouncing the Kaiser, Howard said that he had been instructed to build bridges between the Papacy and the United Kingdom, in recognition of the many issues in which the King and the Pope held a shared interest.⁷⁹⁵ This may have been an allusion to the ongoing and growing confluence of interests between 'the world-wide Church and the world-wide Empire' which The Tablet believed would underpin the permanent establishment of

⁷⁹³ TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (11 January 1915) 3. The allegations that German troops committed systematic atrocities in Belgium has been a matter of considerable debate. On the extent of German war crimes and historiographical manipulations of the subject, John Horne and Alan Kramer, German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial (YUP: New Haven, CT, 2001).

⁷⁹⁴ TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (29 December 1914) 1–2v.

⁷⁹⁵ ASV, SS, 1915, 269a, 1, Howard's address to Benedict, 78–79.

a British Mission to the Holy See and would make such a legation indispensable in a post-war world.⁷⁹⁶

The advocacy of the British Mission – the perspective it provided, rather than facts and figures – undoubtedly helped to counter the natural affinity for the Central Powers that Pollard claimed motivated papal diplomatic policy during World War One. Pollard argued that Benedict hoped to re-establish the pre-war international status quo to reintroduce balance to the European great powers. This relied on the existence of a dominant Roman Catholic state – preferably Austria-Hungary – in eastern Europe.⁷⁹⁷

Pollard's conclusions were supported by some of Howard's observations, that the curia's policy of neutrality was driven by a desire for stability in eastern Europe and by fear of Russia.⁷⁹⁸ The British Mission to the Holy See, in questioning this directing bias, performed a service to the Papacy as well as to the Entente cause. When the Vatican departed from its usual studied neutrality in order to comment on the war in a manner which might be seen to favour of the Entente cause, this was therefore interpreted as a major change in the direction of papal policy and as a testament to the efficacy of the advocacy of the British Mission to the Holy See. In 1915, Howard wrote that in issuing an allocution on Belgium 'the Pope has shown a marked modification of his previous conception of uncompromising neutrality'.⁷⁹⁹ He was satisfied that the Papacy was beginning to take note of the atrocities committed by German troops because of the work of the

⁷⁹⁶ ASV, SS, 1915, 269a, 1, The Tablet (28 November 1914) 41.

⁷⁹⁷ Pollard, The Unknown Pope, 126, 131–132.

⁷⁹⁸ TNA, FO 800/67, Howard to Tyrrell (11 January 1915) 19.

⁷⁹⁹ TNA FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (25 January 1915) 3v.

British Mission. However, though Belgian efforts early in the war to convince the Pope to condemn German war crimes bore little fruit, the Vatican was far from ignorant of these before Howard arrived in Rome. The reports sent to Cardinal Mercier during the conclave of August 1914 which described attacks on Louvain and Malines were well known in Rome, and the Belgian deputy Auguste Mélot repeatedly informed the Cardinal Secretary of State of mass executions, massacres and the use of civilians as human shields in his homeland.⁸⁰⁰ It is likely that the members of the British Mission over-estimated the influence which their reports to the Papacy had in raising awareness of the situation in Belgium at the Vatican.⁸⁰¹ The Mission did manage covertly to bring Mercier together with members of the French government, however, facilitating the flow of information on German war crimes in that direction.⁸⁰²

A key area of the Mission's work in spring 1915 was opposing the appearance of articles attacking the Entente in the Italian press. The Mission was part of an effort, also conducted through the British embassy to the kingdom of Italy, to prepare Italian public opinion for Italy's entry into the war on the side of the Entente. The Mission countered anti-British statements in the Italian press, particularly those which appeared in the semi-clerical *Corriere d'Italia*. Howard and Rennell Rodd suspected the agenda of this paper, which was receiving subventions from the German

⁸⁰⁰ FO 800/67, Gregory to Tyrrell (22 January 1915) 35; Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914*, 267, 269.

⁸⁰¹ For example, TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (1 February 1915).

⁸⁰² TNA, FO 800/67, Howard to Drummond (12 February 1916) 370–371, Account of Mercier-Briand Meeting (undated) 389–90, Howard to Drummond (8 April 1916) 391.

government, was being dictated by the Vatican as part of a campaign to keep Italy neutral.⁸⁰³ Some articles in the *Osservatore Romano*, the official newspaper of the Holy See, were also perceived as opposing the cause of the Entente, and Howard complained about these to both Gasparri and the Pope, even threatening to withdraw the British Mission to the Holy See if offending articles were not withdrawn.⁸⁰⁴ Renzi believed that the British Mission was highly successful in moderating the pro-German tone of the semi-clerical press at first, but that from March 1915, the relationship between the Entente and the Vatican steadily deteriorated.⁸⁰⁵ However, this study has not noticed a significant decline in the influence of the British Mission in the Vatican after Italy entered the war. The supposed partiality of the curia toward Germany was epitomised by the Gerlach affair. In 1917 it became clear that the Pope's chamberlain and unofficial private secretary, Rudolf Gerlach, had been a German agent for some time. Gerlach fled the Vatican for Switzerland, and in his absence was found guilty of espionage by an Italian court. He had been responsible for subventing Italian newspapers and channelled funds from Matthias Erzberger (1875–1921), leader of the German Centre Party, to support the Papacy. It was also alleged that he was involved in attempts to sabotage Italian military installations.⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰³ TNA, FO 380/5/67, Howard to Grey (9 May 1915); TNA, FO 380/5/68, Howard to Grey (12 May 1915); Renzi, *In the Shadow of the Sword*, 150.

⁸⁰⁴ TNA, FO 380/5/69 Howard to Grey (14 May 1915); TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (19 January 1915) 3.

⁸⁰⁵ Renzi, *In the Shadow of the Sword*, 502, 505.

⁸⁰⁶ Renzi, *In the Shadow of the Sword*, 172–4; Pollard, *Money and the Rise of the Modern Papacy: Financing the Vatican, 1850–1950* (CUP: Cambridge, 2005) 90, 112.

The Mission continued to focus on moderating the Vatican's relationship with journalists after March 1915. Its propagandist interventions were, however, more occasional, usually in response to the anti-Entente constructions which could be placed on press interviews with the Pope. After it became clear Italy was to enter the war alongside the Entente, the tone of Italy's semi-clerical press changed to favour the Entente.⁸⁰⁷ Following Italy's declaration of war against Austria-Hungary in May 1915, the *Corriere d'Italia* even approached Howard to suggest he replace the subsidy they had, until then, received from the German government.⁸⁰⁸ In this propagandist work, Gasquet's cultural capital was a great asset. The *Palazzo San Calisto* hosted meetings with the editor of the *Corriere d'Italia*, and it might well be that part of its change in editorial policy was due to a series of verbal 'duels' there between the editor and Philip Langdon (1878–1952), Gasquet's secretary.⁸⁰⁹ Langdon even hired a car on behalf of the British Mission, and, filling it with supplies and members of the diplomatic service, drove to the *Abruzzi* to help with relief work after an earthquake there in January 1915.⁸¹⁰ An account of this expedition was featured in the increasingly sympathetic *Corriere d'Italia*.⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁷ TNA, FO 380/1, Report on the First Three Months of the Mission (31 March 1915) 11; TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (2 June 1915); TNA, FO 800/67, Gregory to Drummond (6 June 1915) 245.

⁸⁰⁸ Renzi, *In the Shadow of the Sword*, 150.

⁸⁰⁹ Scott, 'Douai in Rome'; Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet*, 227.

⁸¹⁰ Scott, 'Douai in Rome', 4.

⁸¹¹ TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (12 June 1915); TNA, FO 800/67, Gregory to Russell (22 January 1915) 42.

The British Mission also devoted considerable energy to rebutting papal peace initiatives, and did so most effectively by maintaining that any peace settlement with the Central Powers must have a strong punitive element. This reflected a sense that the war had a moral character, and justice demanded it should conclude with the punishment of German militarism as well as the surrender of the armies of the Central Powers. Though Benedict was committed to a return to the pre-war status quo in central and eastern Europe, the British Mission articulated the belief that the Papacy should, as an acknowledged moral force, join with the Entente in calling for the diminution of Germany. Wider international acknowledgement of Benedict's moral capital was more equivocal, and Pollard has argued that his peace diplomacy and humanitarian efforts received little recognition or appreciation. The only lasting monument to Benedict's charity was a statue erected in his honour in Istanbul.⁸¹² The British government demonstrated its mastery of creative inertia when dealing with some of Benedict's peace proposals which they did not consider to be severe enough in condemning German aggression. Howard responded to the Pope's proposition for a one-day Christmas truce in 1914 on 29 December of that year. He explained at great length why – after serious consideration by his government – even if it had been possible to organise a truce four days previously, the British government would not have been able to trust the Germans not to have used it for tactical advantage.⁸¹³ A widely circulated exchange on the subject

⁸¹² Pollard, *The Unknown Pope*, 116.

⁸¹³ TNA FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (29 December 1914), Howard to Grey (30 December 1914); TNA FO 380/2/1 Grey to Howard (14 December 1914).

occurred between Cardinal Hartmann (1851–1919), Archbishop of Cologne, and Gasquet in 1916. ‘When the German ... called on him the former said: “Your Eminence, we will not discuss the war.” Cardinal Gasquet looked at him very straight for a minute and then replied emphatically: “Your Eminence, we will not talk about peace”’.⁸¹⁴

One way Gasquet engaged directly in the diplomatic activities of the British Mission was in his effort to convince Benedict to condemn German aggression, and in doing so articulate a moral basis for warfare. Gasquet was far from alone in feeling such a clear condemnation of German violence was necessary, and should be provided by the Papacy. Gregory also felt the Pope should offer Europe his moral leadership, and pronounce against German atrocities. In Gregory’s view, these stemmed from an anti-historical philosophy of destruction which ‘threatens to subvert all the principles that have held good in Europe for nearly two thousand years’. Gregory not only drew an equivalence between German aggression and irreligion, but equated the Central Powers under Germany’s direction with anti-Catholic forces. He wrote that Germany’s

blind adherence to *Deutschtum* at all costs is beginning to weaken the ties that bind them to their religion, and the cause and effect is nothing but a growing acquiescence in Prussian immorality. The moral sense of German Catholics is becoming blunted: their Faith will certainly follow suit. A Prussian victory would mean that not

⁸¹⁴ The clearest version of the exchange between Gasquet and Hartmann appeared in The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser (28 January 1916) 10. It was very widely reported, but often less idiomatically, as for example ‘The Cardinal’s Retort’, The Times 41038 (15 December 1915) 10.

only would this movement be intensified, but a *Kulturkampf* ten times more violent than that of 1872 would be instituted by the Prussian government to dragoon the recalcitrant into acquiescence.⁸¹⁵

Gregory's attack on Germany, which he characterised as irredeemably anti-Catholic, suggests he perceived the war as resting on a conflict of value systems. He believed that German militarism and anti-Catholicism dominated the cause of the Central Powers, notwithstanding Austria-Hungary's Roman Catholic and Turkey's Islamic cultures. Gregory felt hegemonic Prussianism was opposed by an alliance which, though composed of Protestant England, secularist France and Orthodox Russia, valued pluralism in a way that was compatible with the best interests of the Roman Catholic Church. The 'political advantages of a victory of the Allied Cause in regard to the future religious liberty of the world have been persistently inculcated'.⁸¹⁶

While Gregory presumably confined such sentiments to his confidential reports, Gasquet was certainly willing to argue that German culture should be condemned. He stated this openly, and directly to the Pope. He used the personal access to Benedict his rank guaranteed him to denounce German war aims generally and to demand papal condemnations of specific atrocities. He even attacked the Pope for maintaining his neutrality, arguing that to be silent in the face of unlawful violence was to condone it. Gasquet

⁸¹⁵ TNA, FO 800/67, Gregory to Tyrrell (9 February 1915) 78, 86, 88.

⁸¹⁶ TNA, FO 800/67, Gregory to Drummond (12 May 1915) 238; TNA, FO 380/1, Report on the First Three Months of the Mission (31 March 1915) 5.

made this argument most bluntly shortly after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which he regarded as the ‘most deliberate immolation of over 1500 human noncombatant lives, mostly women and children, [which] has caused the whole world to cry with righteous outrage’. Gasquet went on to say that this attack was the direct result of the teaching of German Roman Catholics, and that the militarism the German Church was advocating must be condemned from Rome.⁸¹⁷ In response to Gasquet’s outbursts, the Cardinal Secretary of State instituted an investigation to see whether it would be possible for the Pope to condemn the sinking of the *Lusitania*. A member of the *Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari* who was charged with preparing a note on the matter went on to consider whether the Pope should instead censor the British Government’s naval blockade of Germany. He felt this to be a far more dangerous innovation in the practice of warfare.⁸¹⁸ Though he concluded there were no grounds on which the Vatican could condemn the legality of the blockade, the Pope sympathised with those it affected and with the concerns expressed in this anonymous report.⁸¹⁹ In 1915, Benedict was interviewed by the French journalist Louis Latapie. When asked about the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the Pope replied that he knew of ‘no more horrible crime ... but do you believe that a blockade which presses on two Empires, and which condemns millions of innocent people to famine, is also inspired by very humane sentiments?’ Gasparri felt it was immediately necessary to distance the Vatican from the

⁸¹⁷ AAES, 1915, 1322, 481, Gasquet to Benedict (10 November 1915) 3–4. My translation from Italian.

⁸¹⁸ AAES, 1915, 1322, 481, Note Considering Whether to Protest Against the Sinking of the *Lusitania*, 7–8v.

⁸¹⁹ AAES, 1915, 1322, 481, *Le Blocus de l’Allemagne: est-il Légitime?*, 23–30:30.

implication that there was an equivalence between the sinking of the Lusitania and the blockade of Germany's ports, and any hint that the blockade might be condemned in an encyclical as one 'of the crimes which have been committed during the war'.⁸²⁰ However, Benedict's hanging question was widely reported, and Gasquet's demand for a papal condemnation of German aggression seems to have backfired spectacularly. Even the Pope's supposed sympathy for Germans demonstrated how English public opinion was increasingly reconciled to the Roman Catholic Church. Far from provoking an anti-Catholic backlash, Benedict's interview caused *The Times* to distinguish between the doddering of a Pontiff whose fear of the Germans 'is enough to rob the Vatican of the last shred of its credit and influence', and the legitimacy of English Roman Catholicism, which confirmed through its patriotism and national service that a close association between Roman Catholicism and the nation-state was of wider public benefit.⁸²¹

After the kingdom of Italy entered the war, the British Mission maintained its opposition to papal peace proposals with a new vigour. The Italian government suspected Benedict wanted to pose as the architect of a peace settlement in order to reopen the Roman question at a peace conference, and so under the secret terms of the Treaty of London the pontiff was to be excluded from any such conference.⁸²² However, Benedict saw peace diplomacy as an end in itself, and believed the Papacy was in a unique

⁸²⁰ 'The Pope on War Crimes', *The Times* 40888 (23 June 1915) 8; AAES, 1915, 1322, 481, Gasparri to Howard (30 July 1915) 31–32.

⁸²¹ 'The Interview with the Pope', *The Times* 40891 (26 June 1915) 10.

⁸²² Pollard, *The Unknown Pope*, 127.

position to exhort the belligerents to negotiate a settlement.⁸²³ His two great peace offensives, of 1915 and 1917, foundered on the intransigence of the Entente powers, particularly British refusal to pursue a negotiated peace.⁸²⁴

As the war progressed, the Vatican devoted more attention to humanitarian work than to advocating a peace settlement. Significant and hitherto unexplored archives in Rome and London testify to the relief efforts of the Holy See during the war. This archival material could supply the foundation for a specialist study on corporal works of mercy performed on behalf of the Papacy during the war, but a brief summary of the practical war work of the Vatican is all that can be included here. Public awareness of the extent of the Pope's charitable initiatives undoubtedly contributed to his popularity in England. The high profile of Benedict's humanitarianism was important in fostering affection for the Papacy among those English families it directly aided, as well as demonstrating the clear public benefit of Britain's diplomatic relationship with the Holy See. Because of its international network of clergy and independent diplomatic service, the Holy See was able to monitor the conditions under which internees and prisoners of war were held, and papal diplomats negotiated on behalf of belligerents to improve those conditions and to facilitate the exchange of elderly or sick internees and POWs.⁸²⁵ Agents of the Holy See were also involved in the

⁸²³ Ibid. 112, 117–119.

⁸²⁴ Ibid. 119, 120, 123, 126.

⁸²⁵ Monitoring of German POWs in England: AAES, SE, 1916–1918, 1403–1404, 539, *Germania Inghilterra* 1916–18. Monitoring of British POWs in Germany, and attempts to facilitate the exchange of POWs held at Ruhrleben: AAES, SE, 1916–1918, 1411, 549, *Inghilterra Germania* 1916–1918. TNA, FO 380/8/85 Howard to Drummond (1 July 1916);

identification of POWs and communicating on their behalf with their next of kin, often bringing them the first news of a loved one's survival.

Perhaps the most visible way the Church demonstrated its charity, and convincingly proved to the British public that the global mission of the Roman Catholic Church was compatible with national security, was in its provision of chaplains to the British armed forces. Rafferty believed that the sacramental necessity of priests accompanying Roman Catholic soldiers to the front, and their positive effect on troop morale, established a positive relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the army.⁸²⁶ By working closely with the British forces, the Roman Catholic Church signalled its status as a British institution. Despite the shambolic deployment of chaplains, stemming in part from Bourne's desire to maintain his personal authority over their appointment, the provision of an active Roman Catholic priestly ministry to men in the nation's service symbolised the wider recognition of the dependability and loyalty of English Roman Catholicism.⁸²⁷ Irish protests against Bourne's attempt to establish the dominance of the See of Westminster over their episcopal hierarchy, through his control of chaplaincy appointments to Irish regiments, coupled with low levels of enlistment among Irish clergy, further juxtaposed the

TNA, FO 380/8/110, Gaisford to Grey (12 August 1916); TNA, FO 380/8/111, Gaisford to Grey (12 August 1916); Pollard, *The Unknown Pope*, 113–115.

⁸²⁶ O.P. Rafferty, 'Catholic Chaplains to the British Forces in World War One', *Religion, State and Society* 39.1 (2011) 33–62:35.

⁸²⁷ TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Drummond (13 December 1915); TNA FO 380/8/16, Howard to Drummond (5 February 1916) 1, 10; AAES, SE, 1915–1918, 1347, 502, *Inghilterra* 1915–1918; Rafferty, 'Catholic Chaplains to the British forces', 49–51.

perceived differences in loyalty of English and Irish Roman Catholics.⁸²⁸

When combined with Irish nationalist rebellion and protests against conscription toward the end of the war, this may have led English people to believe a distinction could be drawn between English Roman Catholics, who had joined with their Protestant neighbours to fight for their country with the blessing of the Church, and their Irish coreligionists.⁸²⁹ World War One established Irish Roman Catholics as a distinct 'other' and English Roman Catholics could define their loyalty to Church and state against the example of Fenianism. As 'Catholicus' wrote to The Times,

The body of English Catholics have no difficulty in being at once loyal Englishmen and loyal Catholics. No body of Englishmen have proved themselves more loyal in the present war. To mention but one fact – in proportion to their numbers the Roman Catholic clergy in England have contributed more chaplains to the army than any other denomination. No body, too, feels more acutely the action of the Irish hierarchy in reference to the war ∴. But the Irish episcopate is not the Catholic Church, and the attempt to attribute their action to the Vatican is sheer nonsense.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁸ Ibid. 51–53.

⁸²⁹ Green, The Passing of Protestant England, 37.

⁸³⁰ 'A Grave Responsibility', The Times 41774 (26 April 1918) 5.

A Shared Desire for Imperial and Irish Stability: Further Policy Objectives
of the British Mission to the Holy See

A public appreciation of the advantages of Britain's relationship with the Holy See was formed through the eager diplomatic co-operation of the Vatican in the orderly government of the British Empire. Benedict's concern to maintain international stability during World War One led him to support British government on a global model. The huge number of Roman Catholics living within Britain's dominions meant the Pope's constituency lay there as much as in Austria-Hungary or Italy. In a statement to the Italian press shortly after Howard had presented his credentials to the Pope, Gregory explained that this was one of the reasons why the Mission desired to build cordial relations with the Holy See.⁸³¹ This acknowledgement of the religious diversity of the British Empire formed a stark contrast with the historic identification of the British state with English Protestantism. Perhaps this reference to the function of the British Mission to the Holy See as representative of the King's Roman Catholic subjects indicates a broadening of the idea of English Anglican uniformity into an appreciation of the variety of imperial religiosity. Rafferty saw imperial identity as offering Roman Catholics, particularly those of Irish origin, greater freedom. He has also explored the concrete opportunities for the extension of Roman Catholicism which the British Empire afforded.⁸³² Despite the Protestant ethos that underpinned much imperial expansion, and the

⁸³¹ ASV, SS, 1915, 269a, 1, Gregory's Statement on the Aims of the British Mission, 70-72:71.

⁸³² Rafferty, 'The Catholic Church, Ireland and the British Empire, 1800-1921', Historical Research 84.224 (2011) 288-309.

considerable power of anti-Catholicism in colonial settings prior to the war, the British Empire was the focus for an alliance of interest between the Roman Catholic Church and the British government.⁸³³ The Pope believed it was in the best interests of the Roman Catholic Church to reinforce and work through the existing structures of imperial power to further the Church's global mission.⁸³⁴ Benedict therefore supported, as far as was possible without alienating other nations from the Church, the loyalty of the Roman Catholic subaltern peoples of the British Empire. He was generally supportive of the state's interests in maintaining social control throughout its dominions.

The appreciation of shared international interests between the British Empire and the Roman Catholic Church was an important practical factor in favour of rapprochement between the British state and the Holy See. The Pope was eager to cooperate in reinforcing governmental control within the British Empire because he recognised that, under most circumstances, the smooth operation of the state was easily allied with the expansionist aims of the Church.⁸³⁵ An effective and well-disposed imperial regime created an environment in which missionaries could operate efficiently and even raise up native leaders from among Roman Catholic communities.⁸³⁶ If such

⁸³³ Wolfe, 'Anti-Catholicism and the British Empire'.

⁸³⁴ See Hagerty, Cardinal Hinsley: Priest and Patriot, 98–99.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.* 106–107.

⁸³⁶ After the war the Roman Catholic Church in Africa attempted to root dioceses in a parochial (rather than mission-based) structure, and to raise up a native priesthood. However, there were some conflicts between the Colonial Office and the Roman Catholic

communities were encouraged in the virtues of peace and orderliness by their religious leaders, this could only be of benefit to the Empire. Some of the successes of the British Mission to the Holy See relied on the recognition of this mutual interest in international security, though it may have been difficult for members of the wartime Mission to reconcile the Papacy's positive attitude toward Britain's imperial control with its supposed partiality toward the Central Powers. Tentatively at first, therefore, the Mission approached the Holy See in the hope of using papal influence to bolster Britain's imperial authority. Howard avoided obvious interference in delicate matters of intra-ecclesiastical policy by communicating the government's preferences to Gasparri through Gasquet or Merry del Val. In response, the Papacy proved eager to accommodate the British government in areas such as the appointment of bishops, the setting of diocesan boundaries and the organisation of education.

The Mission worked to secure the appointment of tractable bishops in those territories which were perceived as volatile because of their religious, cultural or linguistic manifestations of 'foreignness' or their internal divisions. In territories where non-English speaking Roman Catholics were in the majority, such as Malta, the Seychelles and in French-speaking Canada, the Pope appointed bishops who were friendly to the imperial regime at the request of the British government.⁸³⁷ The Mission's requests

Church concerning the use of German missionaries in British dominions, and the question of denominational education. Ibid. 96–145.

⁸³⁷ To Malta: ASV, SS, 1915, 269a, 1, 85–108; Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet, 230. To St Boniface, Canada: TNA, FO 800/67, Howard to Foreign Office (28 July 1915) 325; TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (12 August 1915); TNA, FO 800/67, Howard to Grey (12

for the Holy See to transfer rights of ecclesiastical appointment to the British government was also well received. The bishopric of Bombay, which was filled by a candidate presented by the Portuguese bishop of Damnam, was one example of an area of the Empire where these had, for historic reasons, been vested in other powers.⁸³⁸ The Mission also emphasised the shared interests of the state and the Holy See in using education as a tool of control and catechesis. The British government realised that encouraging English literacy among the subaltern peoples of the Empire could foster cultural uniformity in the dominions and develop ties of loyal affection for the imperial motherland. Howard therefore spent six months encouraging the papacy to establish schools in Egypt which combined instruction in the English language with religious education.⁸³⁹

Toward the end of the war, the British Mission also sought the Vatican's help in pacifying the Holy Land. De Salis consulted the curia about Zionist

August 1915) 330; TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (10 December 1915); TNA, FO 800/67, Howard to Foreign Office (10 December 1915). To Manitoba: TNA, FO 380/6/69, Grey to Howard (29 July 1915). To Pembroke, Canada: TNA, FO 800/67, Howard to Drummond (29 December 1915) 361–362. To Port Victoria, the Seychelles: TNA, FO 380/2/44, Maurice de Bunsen to Gregory (undated) 1–2; TNA, FO 380/1, Howard to Grey (6 November 1915). To Port Royal, Mauritius: TNA, FO 380/8/78, Howard to Grey (17/6/16) 1v; TNA FO 380/8/94, Howard to Grey (15 July 1916).

⁸³⁸ TNA, FO 380/8/82, Howard to Foreign Office (undated); TNA, FO 380/8/133, Howard to Grey (26 September 1916).

⁸³⁹ TNA, FO 380/8/62, Howard to Grey (10 May 1916); TNA, FO 380/8/92, Howard to Grey (12 July 1916); TNA, FO 380/8/101, Howard to Grey (23 July 1916); TNA, FO 380/8/119, Gaisford to Grey (25 August 1916); TNA, FO 380/8/140, Howard to Grey (17 October 1916).

aspirations there, and the Holy See was eager to transfer the Protectorate of the Holy Places from France to Britain following the creation of the British mandate.⁸⁴⁰ This had been a guarantee of French cultural dominance in the region, and its loss affected the prestige of local representatives of the French government. The French counsellor in Rome believed that Britain's representation at the Vatican had given it a distinct advantage in matters concerning the Middle East and the Holy Land, and a sense of the benefit which their leverage over the Papacy provided in international affairs contributed to the British government's decision to continue the Mission after World War One.⁸⁴¹ The Mission also mediated areas of potential conflict between the Roman Catholic orders operating within the Empire and the priorities of imperial security in wartime. This chiefly concerned protests against the internment of subjects of the Central Powers serving as missionaries in the Empire; the Mission also helped some non-British members of religious orders gain travel permits and exemption from internment.⁸⁴²

To comment in detail on Anglo-Irish and Hiberno-Vatican relations during the war would be to depart from this chapter's main purpose, which remains the study of the British Mission and its effect on English national identity. However, the archival material on Ireland recently made accessible in the

⁸⁴⁰ TNA, FO 608/118/10, Charles de Salis to Edward Stanley (2 March 1919) 614; Rafferty, 'The Catholic Church, Ireland and the British Empire', 307.

⁸⁴¹ TNA, FO 608/118/8.

⁸⁴² German Jesuits interned in Bombay: TNA, FO 380/3/33, Howard to Grey (14 September 1915) 2. Safe conducts and permission to operate: TNA, FO 380/3/2-4; TNA, FO 380/5, Howard to Grey (4 January 1915).

Straordinari, and which has long been available in The National Archives, the National Library of Ireland, and formerly at the *Pontificio Collegio Irlandese* supports Rafferty's conclusion that, within a framework of declared neutrality, the Holy See was prepared to downplay Irish interests in order to cement its relationship with the British government.⁸⁴³ This suggests that the British Mission was not as unsuccessful in mediating Irish affairs in Rome as has been suggested by Keogh and de Wiel, who emphasised the achievements of Irish nationalist representation at the curia at the expense of British work there.⁸⁴⁴ It is hard to see how the Pope's support for British authority and his refusal to endorse rebellion in Ireland can be counted as a triumph for Irish nationalists operating in the curia. Benedict's rejection of violence in Ireland favoured the British government, and indicates the Pope's receptiveness to the policies articulated by the British Mission.

In Ireland, the papal policy of supporting governmental control required great finesse. Benedict attempted to tread delicately to avoid dividing those members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy who viewed nationalism as dangerous to the Church's interest from those who supported Irish independence. As the war went on, especially after the suppression of the

⁸⁴³ The archives of the *Pontificio Collegio Irlandese* are not presently open. Rafferty, 'The Catholic Bishops and Revolutionary Violence in Ireland: Some 19th and 20th century Comparisons', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 83.329 (1994) 30–42; Rafferty, 'The Catholic Church, Ireland and the British Empire', 305–306.

⁸⁴⁴ Keogh, 'The Secret Agreement', 87; de Wiel, 'The Shaping of New Relations between Nationalist Ireland and the Vatican', 97–98, 100, 104.

Easter Rising (1916), public statements from nationalists opposing British rule, and particularly those attacking conscription, made it increasingly difficult to maintain this balance. Benedict's desire neither to provoke nor offend the Irish people led the Papacy toward a policy of neutrality over the question of Irish independence. In practice, this reinforced the *status quo* and Britain's claim of sovereignty. The Pope acknowledged the legitimacy of the King's rule in Ireland and, despite the protestations of Roman Catholic loyalty issued by Irish nationalists, was not drawn into sanctioning rebellion against British authority. The Irish diaspora gave clergy of Irish descent an unparalleled influence throughout the British Empire, but under Rome's authority this was often used in favour of the civil power.⁸⁴⁵ The Vatican was clearly not convinced that the aspiration of Ireland for self-government was a religious issue primarily based on resistance to British anti-Catholicism, as was claimed in 1916 by George Plunkett (1851–1948, later Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs).⁸⁴⁶

Plunkett was sent to Rome in April 1916 by Eoin MacNeill (1867–1945, later Irish Minister for Education), Professor of Early Irish History at University College, Dublin, on behalf of the volunteers of Ireland, to explain to the Holy See the principles motivating the forthcoming nationalist rising.⁸⁴⁷ He told the Pope that the rising was inspired by strong Roman Catholic sentiment, and that the supreme council of the volunteers supported the liberation of the Holy See and the restoration of its ancient

⁸⁴⁵ Rafferty, 'The Catholic Church, Ireland and the British Empire', 297–301.

⁸⁴⁶ D.R. O'Connor Lysaght, 'Plunkett, George (1851–1948)', ODNB.

⁸⁴⁷ Patrick Maume, 'MacNeill, Eoin (1867–1945)', ODNB.

rights.⁸⁴⁸ Plunkett also laid before the Pope a list of the nationalists' grievances, concentrating on the partiality shown by the British government toward Orange anti-Catholicism.⁸⁴⁹ Plunkett expressed a fear that, when the war ended, the British would turn the New Army against Ireland and use it to enforce the Protestant interest. The nationalists, he explained, therefore intended to rebel during the war to obtain liberty for their Roman Catholic land.⁸⁵⁰ Plunkett even informed the Pope of the date of the intended rebellion, hoping to obtain a papal blessing for the Easter Rising.⁸⁵¹ After his audience with the Pope, Plunkett went to meet Roger Casement, who was in Berlin soliciting a shipment of arms for the rising, and then returned to Ireland.⁸⁵² Far from giving his benediction to the Irish volunteers, however, following the outbreak of violence Benedict sent a message through Cardinal Logue (1840–1924), Archbishop of Armagh, calling on the rebels to lay down their arms. Shortly after this, Gasparri told Howard that he hoped the British government would appreciate this support for their rule in Ireland.⁸⁵³

⁸⁴⁸ Presumably these included the governance of the Papal States. This was an issue which motivated the Vatican to lobby British representatives to the Peace Conference and demand their own representation there. AAES, *Inghilterra*, 1915–1916, 217, 120; AAES, *Irlanda* 1916, 23–25:23–24; Pollard, The Unknown Pope, 142–143.

⁸⁴⁹ AAES, *Inghilterra*, 1915–1916, 217, 120; AAES, *Irlanda* 1916, 23–25:23.

⁸⁵⁰ AAES, *Inghilterra*, 1915–1916, 217, 120; AAES, *Irlanda* 1916, 23–25:25.

⁸⁵¹ AAES, *Inghilterra*, 1915–1916, 217, 120; AAES, *Irlanda* 1916, 23–25:25.

⁸⁵² De Wiel, 'The Shaping of New Relations between Nationalist Ireland and the Vatican', 102; Giovanni Costigan, 'The Treason of Sir Roger Casement', The American Historical Review 60.2 (1955) 283–302.

⁸⁵³ TNA, FO 800/67, Howard to Drummond (13 May 1916) 395–396; David Miller, 'Logue, Michael (1840–1924)', ODNB.

Following the war, George Gavan Duffy (1882–1951), TD for South Dublin, was engaged on a similar mission. He sought permission to present a white book containing an address from the Irish deputies to the Pope.⁸⁵⁴ He had been prevented from representing the views of the *Dáil Éireann* at the Peace Congress, and wished to associate Irish calls for self-determination immediately following the war with the alternative international authority of the Papacy. Gavan Duffy wrote to Benedict that he considered the British government to be explicitly opposed to Roman Catholicism, and that it was engaged in a war to maintain its ‘usurpation’ over ‘Catholic Ireland’.⁸⁵⁵ However, Gasparri rejected Gavan Duffy’s request for an audience with the Pope on the grounds that the Holy See wished to maintain its neutrality between Britain and the Irish nationalists. Gasparri also refused Gavan Duffy’s request that the Pope should receive an authorised and resident representative of the *Dáil* so that events in Ireland could be presented to him ‘under another light from that of our adversaries, in order to be certain that the truth could not remain unknown to Him’.⁸⁵⁶ Gavan Duffy argued the neutrality which the Holy See claimed in this issue was compromised by the privileged communication between the British government and the Pope through the British Mission to the Holy See. Gavan Duffy’s mission suggests that the unofficial representation of Irish nationalist opinion which had been maintained in Rome by the *Pontificio Collegio Irlandese*, and notably by its rectors Michael O’Riordan and John

⁸⁵⁴ Mary Kotsonouris, ‘Gavan Duffy, George (1882–1951)’, *ODNB*.

⁸⁵⁵ NLI, MS 10, 780, Gavan Duffy–Vatican, George Gavan Duffy to Gasparri (30 July 1921) 3–4:3.

⁸⁵⁶ NLI, MS 10, 780, Gavan Duffy–Vatican, Gasparri to Gavan Duffy (27 July 1921), Gavan Duffy to Gasparri (30 July 1921) 3–4:4.

Hagan, was seen as insufficient to counter the professional representation offered by Howard and de Salis to the Holy See.⁸⁵⁷

Protests against the British Mission to the Holy See

There were a small number of isolated public protests at the appointment of an envoy from the British government to the Papacy, but far fewer anti-Catholic outbursts than might have been expected. This might suggest the emphasis which the government had placed on the temporary nature of the Mission, and the delineation of clear objectives in a wartime situation, placated anti-Catholic opinion. Equally, it might have indicated that Protestant objections to recognising the Pope as a figure of international prestige and authority were growing less violent. Those protestors who did object to Howard's Mission did so on the grounds that it was incompatible with historical expressions of English identity. The Church Association protested

against any steps which may tend to increase the power or influence of the Papacy or to lessen the protest which for centuries before and after the Reformation was consistently made by the Kings and Parliaments of England against the Papal claims, and protests that

⁸⁵⁷ Gavan Duffy's correspondence with Gasparri appears to have been copied to John Hagan at the *Pontificio Collegio Irlandese*. Letter fitting its description appear in its catalogue as Hagan 1/1921/345 (formerly 57). Vera Orschel, Papers of John Hagan, Irish College Rome (1904–1930): Introduction (Unpublished Catalogue); Orschel, Papers of John Hagan, Irish College Rome (1904–1930): Part Two: 1920–1922 (Unpublished Catalogue) 841.

the recent appointment conflicts with the declaration that the 'Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction within this realm'.⁸⁵⁸

Similarly, A.C. Dixon (1854–1925), an American expatriate ministering at London's Metropolitan Tabernacle, denounced the Mission, which he believed was the first time in four hundred years Britain had sent an envoy to the Pope, as 'more of danger [to the nation] than German guns or submarines or Zeppelins'.⁸⁵⁹ In 1916, John Alfred Kensit (1881–1957) also related the moral peril posed by the British Mission to the Holy See with the physical dangers of war, in his providentialist Remonstrance to the Governmènt. This protested against the Mission to the Vatican, the Prime Minister's visit to the Pope, and the introduction of a Religious Orders Relief Bill. Kensit 'noted as "highly significant" the fact that the country was bombarded for the first time on ... the day the Papal Envoy to the Vatican was appointed'.⁸⁶⁰

Protests against papal peace initiatives were far more widespread than these unfashionable identifications of the nation with an anti-Catholic confessional identity. There were protests over the Pope's condemnation of the British blockade of German ports in his interview with Louis Laterpie. When Asquith paid a short visit to the Vatican on 1 April 1916, as part of a general tour of the kingdom of Italy and the Italian front, the London Council of the United Protestant Societies demanded the termination of the

⁸⁵⁸ 'The Mission to the Pope: a Protest from the Church Association', The Manchester Guardian (22 December 1914) 3.

⁸⁵⁹ 'Protests Against the Mission to the Vatican', The Manchester Guardian (4 January 1915) 9.

⁸⁶⁰ 'A Protestant Remonstrance', The Times 41142 (15 April 1916) 5.

British Mission to the Holy See, 'on the ground that the sympathies of the Pope have been manifestly and continuously on the side of Germany and Austria.⁸⁶¹ Also in 1916, James Welldon (1854–1937), Dean of Manchester, criticised the Roman Catholic Church for being insufficiently supportive of the war aims of the Entente powers, and incapable of expressing England's national character.⁸⁶² In response to Welldon's protest, John Vaughan (1853–1925), titular Bishop of Sebastopolis and auxiliary of Salford, contrasted the universality of Roman Catholicism, and its moral teaching, with a divisive particularism which he accused Welldon of advocating. Vaughan mocked the idea that 'God wished each nation "to organise its own church, in accordance with its own national spirit and character"'. In addition to attacking the Anglican notion of national religion, Vaughan was suggesting that the world required a constant and historically continuous testimony to 'truth, justice and virtue', perhaps particularly in the darkness of wartime. Vaughan argued the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church on matters of international morality was, furthermore, so unambiguous and ancient, that the Pope did not need to issue specific condemnations of German atrocities: 'We cannot expect the Pope to rise and solemnly declare on every occasion what every Catholic child already knows – namely, that murder is a crime and the breaking of treaties a serious sin'.⁸⁶³

⁸⁶¹ 'Mr Asquith in Rome's Capitol', The Manchester Guardian (3 April 1916) 6; 'Mr Asquith's Visit to Rome', The Times 41131 (3 April 1916) 7; 'Imperial and Foreign News', The Times 41138 (11 April 1916) 7.

⁸⁶² J.W.S. Tomlin, 'Welldon, James (1854–1937)', rev. M.C. Curthoys, ODNB; 'The Church of Roman and the Crisis: Bishop Vaughan's Reply', The Manchester Guardian (13 March 1916) 6.

⁸⁶³ *Ibid.*

In 1917, a papal peace note provoked more British criticism of the Pope's approach to the ongoing conflict. While The Times acknowledged Benedict was trying to behave impartially, it clearly felt that he possessed an inherent bias towards the Central Powers, and that this had produced a proposal for an armistice favouring their war aims. The Times characterised his proposals as 'permeated by German ideas'. However, the paper distinguished between the foreign worldview of the Central Powers and the aspirations of thousands of loyal English Roman Catholics, who would be bound to carry on fighting against Germany in accordance with their religion. The Times wrote that the peace plan would be rejected by them because of its failure to distinguish between 'the champions of right ... and ... the champions of violence and wrong'. The Pope was not being condemned as part of a Roman Catholic system or because of his claims to authority: he was being accused of a failure to distinguish between the culpability of the belligerent powers, or to articulate a moral case for warfare.

That is what they have been fighting for during three years and what they are fighting for to-day. They mean to end the reign of 'militarism' and to inaugurate a reign of right and law, wider, stronger, and more stable than history has yet seen.⁸⁶⁴

Paradoxically, this can be seen as an indication that the institution of the Papacy was appreciated in England in an increasingly positive light, transcending the negative historical associations of the authoritarian

⁸⁶⁴ 'The Papal Peace Note', The Times 41558 (16 August 1917) 7.

structures of the Roman Catholic Church. The conduct of the British Mission to the Holy See, and popular responses to papal pronouncements made during the war suggest English people wanted, and increasingly expected, the Pope to act as an international moral arbiter. This rested on a newly positive presumption of the ethical character of his office, and manifested more than a propagandistic desire for Benedict to 'side' with the Entente against the Central Powers. Convinced of the integrity of their stand against German militarism, The Times thought that the Pope should want to act as a figurehead for their crusade because he was capable of articulating their shared moral worldview. The protests against the Pope's refusal to condemn German war crimes only serve to reinforce this point: that in the popular mind, the Holy See had become tentatively recognised as the seat of a moral authority, which should have been supportive of the Entente's cause.

The fact that the Pope did not 'side' with the Entente to the extent of condemning specific German atrocities does not undermine the force of the idea that he should have done so. In 1915, Bourne recognised this sentiment underpinned some press criticism of the Pope. He argued that since the Pope did not at that time possess the resources to investigate accusations of war crimes against the German army, Benedict could not condemn them specifically. Benedict had, however, clearly defined how nations were to act in wartime, and Bourne argued that Germany's deeds could not be reconciled with these principles. Germany's crimes had therefore already implicitly been condemned as contrary to Christian principles by the Holy See. Bourne explained that the Kaiser had no respect for the Pope's

position, and even if the Pope openly condemned him would never submit to the judgement of the Holy See. This was in contrast to the increasing levels of support for the judicial power of the Papacy in England.⁸⁶⁵ This identification of a shared morality motivating England's war aims and Roman Catholic just war theory was a reflection of the positive change which had occurred in British attitudes to the Papacy. The idea that the Pope was a figure who should have been able to arbitrate in favour of the moral stability of Europe also seems to owe an intellectual debt to the understanding of the role of the Roman Catholic Church as the guarantor of civil order in medieval society. This was more fully expressed in Belloc's Europe and the Faith (which chapter II argued was profoundly influenced by Gasquet's historical writing), released in the aftermath of the war.⁸⁶⁶

In 1918, the Prince of Wales visited the Pope, and The Times reported that '[t]his act of deference towards the Head of the Roman Church, whose adherents number many millions among the peoples of the British Empire, was right and proper'. This visit, and the respect which British forces had observed toward the rites and holy days of the Roman Catholic Church while conducting their campaigns, was contrasted with the German bombardment of French churches on Good Friday and Easter Sunday. The Times drew a distinction between the respect which Britain now accorded to all 'religious convictions and the rights attached to them' and the 'organized devilry' of Germanic militarism. In such a clash between 'Christian

⁸⁶⁵ 'The Pope and the War: Cardinal Bourne's Reply to Critics,' The Manchester Guardian (31 May 1915) 8.

⁸⁶⁶ Belloc, Europe and the Faith.

civilisation' and barbarism, the Holy See's neutrality was perplexing, but suggested that outrages against the Entente nations and their allies were, equally, an affront to the Roman Catholic Church and its Vicar of Christ.⁸⁶⁷

The End of the War and the Future of the British Mission to the Holy See

In 1919, Gasquet expressed the opinion that the maintenance of a mutually beneficial understanding between Britain and the Vatican should be ensured by continuing the British Mission to the Holy See. He contrasted the current sympathetic relationship with the much more convoluted fictions, necessitated by the absence of formal diplomatic relations, which had preceded it: "The old method," the Cardinal observed, "of a sort of back-door diplomacy was thoroughly un-British, ineffective and unseemly".⁸⁶⁸ In the House of Commons, the continuance of the British Mission to the Holy See was a matter for regular questions – and a notable absence of responses – throughout 1918 and 1919. After the governments of the Dominions had been consulted for their views on the status of the British Mission to the Holy See, one debate did fully express the range of attitudes in the Commons toward the diplomatic relationship between Britain and the Papacy. Robert Lynn (1873–1945), MP for Belfast Woodvale, called for the Mission's termination on the grounds that the Vatican had condoned the

⁸⁶⁷ 'The Allies and the Holy See', The Times 41805 (1 June 1918) 7.

⁸⁶⁸ 'Great Britain and the Vatican: an Interview with Cardinal Gasquet', The Observer (16 November 1919) 7.

sinking of the *Lusitania* and been ‘during the war ... one of the most deadly enemies that Great Britain and the Allies had’.⁸⁶⁹

This paranoid fear of the Pope might have been expected from an Ulster Unionist shortly after the establishment of the *Dáil Éireann* and its refusal to recognise the authority of Westminster.⁸⁷⁰ However, the strong reaction from Liberals, other Unionists and Conservatives against Lynn’s point of view was remarkable: Jeremiah Macveagh (1870–1932), MP for South Down, denied the truth of Lynn’s allegations, and accused the member for Belfast Woodvale of exhibiting a bigotry which was out of place in the House of Commons, and was altogether out of date. Walter Guinness (1880–1944, later Baron Moyne), MP for Bury St Edmunds, questioned Lynn’s allegations against the conduct of the Vatican.⁸⁷¹ He said that though he sympathised with the sentiment which motivated them, it was essential that Britain’s case should be officially made at the Vatican, because

we must remember that there is a very large Roman Catholic population in various parts of our Empire ... that yields nothing in loyalty, even to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Woodvale. To my mind it is not a matter of religion, it is a matter of politics ... we have to recognise that the Pope is a very powerful influence, an influence working through unseen channels, an influence that will continue for a very long time, and perhaps grows stronger in the

⁸⁶⁹ House of Commons Debate (18 December 1919) *Hansard* ser.5, vol.123, 826–827.

⁸⁷⁰ ‘The Irish Congress’, *The Times* 42003 (21 January 1919) 9.

⁸⁷¹ Moyne, ‘Guinness, Walter (1880–1944)’, rev. Marc Brodie, *ODNB*.

reaction after the War. We cannot possibly afford, in a matter of this kind, under present conditions, to be swayed by sentiment.⁸⁷²

His opinion was shared by John Rees (1854–1922), MP for Nottingham East, Samuel Hoare (1880–1959, later Viscount Templewood), MP for Chelsea, and Cecil Harmsworth (1869–1948, later Baron Harmsworth), MP for Luton and Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.⁸⁷³ Joseph Kenworthy (1886–1953, later Baron Strabogli), MP for Central Hull, succinctly praised the conduct of the Papacy during the war.⁸⁷⁴ In addition to recognising that Imperial interests made Britain's diplomatic representation at the Vatican necessary, he said that 'the Holy See has been of great service; [the Pope] has kept the land (sic) of Christianity alight in Europe when it was nearly muffed (sic) out by the awful catastrophe of the War'.⁸⁷⁵ These acknowledgements that positive results had accrued from the establishment of a diplomatic relationship between Britain and the papacy, particularly in the British Empire, and a generally positive public attitude toward the Pope, justified continuing the British Mission to the Holy See following the cessation of hostilities, at first on a *de facto* basis.

Howard was the first British envoy sent to the Vatican since the Reformation with a mandate to maintain diplomatic dialogue between the

⁸⁷² House of Commons Debate (18 December 1919) Hansard ser.5, vol.123, 828–830.

⁸⁷³ House of Commons Debate (18 December 1919) Hansard ser.5, vol.119, 355; House of Commons Debate (18 December 1919) Hansard ser.5, vol.121, 885; House of Commons Debate (18 December 1919) Hansard ser.5, vol.123, 832–837; R.J.Q. Adams, 'Hoare, Samuel (1880–1959)', ODNB.

⁸⁷⁴ Eric Grove, 'Kenworthy, Joseph (1886–1953)', ODNB.

⁸⁷⁵ House of Commons Debate (18 December 1919) Hansard ser.5, vol.123, 834–885.

British government and the Pope. This chapter has noted the tentative way that the British government approached Howard's appointment, and that of his immediate successor, de Salis, clearly fearing that Protestant protests against the British Mission to the Holy See might make its presence at the Vatican untenable. However, such public disapproval as the government may have feared did not emerge. A small number of protests against the Mission accompanied its foundation in 1914 and the change of ministers in 1916; a larger, but still negligible quantity of protesters objected to the conduct of the Pope, coinciding with his issuing of peace notes in 1916 and 1917. However, many supported the Mission in 1914 and throughout the war, and by 1919 it was clear that the continuance of British diplomatic relations with the Pope had the overwhelming support of English parliamentarians, who, furthermore, expressed their admiration for Benedict and his spiritual office in terms which would have outraged their lineal Protestant ancestors of 1848 or 1870. The British Mission to the Holy See both reflected and acted as an agent of further change in English attitudes to the international Roman Catholic Church.

A New Commitment to Roman Catholic Public Theology

On *Quinquagesima* Sunday 1918, Cardinal Bourne issued a pastoral letter to the Archdiocese of Westminster, The Nation's Crisis.⁸⁷⁶ Clearly aware that the war was drawing to a close, the Archbishop wanted to encourage his flock to think about how their religion could contribute to the building up of a new Britain in its aftermath. Bourne imagined a future in which the

⁸⁷⁶ Francis Bourne, The Nation's Crisis (B&O: 1918).

Roman Catholic Church would be able to build on increasing levels of sympathy among English men and women for Roman Catholicism. He saw this growing acceptance as a consequence of the way that the war had brought Roman Catholics, especially in the army, into more familiar relations with non-Catholics. That inter-mingling had allowed non-Catholics to see that Roman Catholics were willing to perform their share of service to the state. This had broken down the barriers of suspicion associated with the faith, so that anti-Catholicism had been 'discredited to the bulk of the nation'.⁸⁷⁷ Bourne wrote that even Roman Catholic religious practices, previously seen as superstitious, were gaining in popularity. He felt they were increasingly acknowledged to have the power to fill an ever more visible void in the life of the nation. For example, there was a wide public affection for sites of mourning associated with the war dead. Bourne felt that the national experience of bereavement had deepened England's affection for the teachings of Roman Catholicism about the afterlife, and had exposed the inadequacy of other forms of religion: 'Belief in the efficacy of prayers for the dead is becoming more frequent, and it is dawning on many that their choice must be between the religion of Catholics and no religion at all'.⁸⁷⁸ The incarnational ideal of the nature of the Roman Catholic Church, and its claims to sacramental surety and doctrinal continuity in the aftermath of a dehumanising and dislocating conflict, motivated the conversion of many Anglican ritualists in the post-

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid. 16-17:17.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid. 15.

war period, including Knox.⁸⁷⁹ Roman Catholic bequests for Masses or prayers for the dead were even legalised in 1919, following the verdict in *Bourne vs Keane* that these were not superstitious.⁸⁸⁰ Bourne was hopeful that these consequences of the war would lead to individual conversions to the Roman Catholic Church; but beyond this he envisaged a catholicisation of the public sphere. Bourne's concern to encourage prayers for the departed – or at least to articulate that this practice was a powerful attraction of Roman Catholicism – does not seem to have been restricted to promoting intercession on behalf of the Roman Catholic dead. His requests throughout the war for papal permission to inaugurate annual national requiems, to be celebrated in all Roman Catholic churches throughout the country, were universalist: though he told the Pope these would be appreciated by Roman Catholics, they were intended as propitiatory sacrifices for the souls of soldiers who had died in the war, without any qualification being made as to their religion.⁸⁸¹ This suggests a widening of the Roman Catholic Church's sense of mission, and a confidence in its desire to represent the country, both the living and the dead, by interceding for the whole nation. The public role of the Roman Catholic Church in England was expanding into the hereafter.

⁸⁷⁹ Terry Tastard, Ronald Knox and English Catholicism (Gracewing: Leominster, 2009) 82–91.

⁸⁸⁰ 'Law Report: House of Lords. Bequest for Masses for the Repose of the Soul', The Times 42117 (4 June 1919) 4.

⁸⁸¹ AAES, *Inghilterra*, 1915–1916, 214, 120, Bourne to Gasparri (12 October 1915) 3, Bourne to Gasparri (8 September 1916) 5; AAES, *Inghilterra*, 1915–1916, 214, 120, Bourne to Gasparri (30 September 1917) 7.

However, Bourne exaggerated the extent to which Roman Catholicism was distinctive by this time in its attempt to create a sense of continuity and community between the living and the dead through prayers and masses. All the mainstream churches in Britain demonstrated their ability to adjust to the conditions of wartime in order to offer comfort to the bereaved, and infuse the sacrifice of the war dead with a religious significance.⁸⁸² The strength of spiritualism, or at least supernaturalism, during and immediately following the war has been vigorously articulated, and it has been seen as a means by which the brutality and destructiveness of the conflict could be fitted within a comforting moral paradigm.⁸⁸³ The living and the dead could be seen as fighting the same battles. The war had a particular impact on the liturgical heritage of the Church of England, which developed new provision for funeral services and days of prayer and intercession, reflecting a greater range of beliefs about what happened to the deceased after death.⁸⁸⁴ It accelerated a process which had been underway prior to the conflict, in which ideas of purgatory and post-mortem progression were brought within the bounds of Anglican 'orthodoxy'.⁸⁸⁵ The pastoral demands of wartime

⁸⁸² Snape, 'Perceptions of the Afterlife in Britain during World War One', The Church, The Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul, SCH 45, eds Clarke and Tony Claydon (Boydell: Woodbridge, 2009) 317–403:374.

⁸⁸³ Jay Winter, Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History (CUP: Cambridge, 1995) 55–64; Snape, 'Perceptions of the Afterlife in Britain', 382.

⁸⁸⁴ Georgina Byrne, Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850–1939 (Boydell: Woodbridge, 2010) 206–207, 199–203.

⁸⁸⁵ In 1906 the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline recommended that prayers for the dead and some other High Church practices should be allowed within an 'elasticity which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England and of

moved the liturgies of the Church of England away from agnosticism about the fate of the dead, toward an expression of hope – supported by the prayers of the living – for their heavenward progress.⁸⁸⁶ This in turn preceded the attempt to revise the Book of Common Prayer in 1927–1928 so that prayers for the dead could be subtly authorised within the Church of England.⁸⁸⁷ The growing acceptance of such distinctive catholic practices as prayer for the dead or a belief in purgatory within the Church of England points to a decline in the association between the public doctrines of Anglicanism and anti-Catholicism. This was certainly the opinion of those who denounced the new prayer book as an attempt to undo the Reformation and prepare for reunion with Rome, such as William Joynson-Hix (1865–1932, later Viscount Brentford).⁸⁸⁸

In addition to observing the growing level of approval for Roman Catholicism, Bourne's pastoral focused on the promotion of Roman Catholic social teaching as being able to provide wider public benefit. Bourne believed the war had brought the broad social problems which had preceded its eruption into sharp relief. He thought that the British nation was gaining an awareness of the moral bankruptcy and greed which had precipitated the global conflict, seen most clearly in Germany's quest for a 'world-wide predominance', but also inherent in the selfishness of the

its present needs seems to demand'. Machin, 'Parliament, the Church of England, and the Prayer Book Crisis, 1927–8', *Parliamentary History* 19.1 (2000) 131–147:134.

⁸⁸⁶ Byrne, *Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England*, 206–207.

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid. 212–215; John Maiden, *National Religion and the Prayer Book Controversy, 1927–1928* (Boydell: Woodbridge, 2009) 174.

⁸⁸⁸ F.M.L. Thompson, 'Hicks, William Joynson– (1865–1932)', *ODNB*.

‘materialistic aims which for too long deluded and misled our English people’.⁸⁸⁹ The Nation’s Crisis offered a panacea for these, through some rather non-specific references to the social teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. These were clearly influenced by *Rerum Novarum*. This was Bourne’s attempt to preach to the entire nation, including those who would always remain outside the faith, and to convince people that Roman Catholic teachings could offer a clear benefit to all English society. Indeed, the pastoral offered a basis on which the Roman Catholic Church could begin to co-operate with other religious groups on issues of mutual concern, such as with the Church of England on denominational education, or the Salvation Army on temperance reform.⁸⁹⁰ The pastoral was significant as the first great expression of the growing desire within English Roman Catholicism to engage in projects of public theology; to contribute to the building up of the ethical life of the nation while accepting the fact that the majority of its citizens would remain outside the Church. Kester Aspden wrote that it ‘exemplified the greater sense of commitment to the public realm – the very choice of title betokening a broadening of the Church’s responsibilities, a sense of mission to the nation’.⁸⁹¹

Bourne’s pastoral expressed the high level of confidence within English Roman Catholicism, and a sense of national identity which was more accepting of confessional differences than ever before. Though these are very modern features of faith, the pastoral based both its understanding of

⁸⁸⁹ Bourne, The Nation’s Crisis, 8.

⁸⁹⁰ Aspden, Fortress Church, 126.

⁸⁹¹ *Ibid.* 110.

Roman Catholic social teaching, and its confidence in the value of that teaching, on an historical model. It rested on a sense of the superiority of Roman Catholic tradition, and saw medieval society as an exemplar of both unselfish co-operative action within one nation and international stability. Bourne argued that the division of Europe into antagonistic and avaricious blocks would never have occurred in pre-Reformation society. He wrote that the kind of war people had experienced, based on a desire to dominate completely, or completely destroy what could not be dominated, would have been impossible then, when the principles of true religion were a guide which unified all men. The decline of that unifying power, until the sixteenth-century universally acknowledged to be encapsulated and guarded in the person of the Pope, had meant that 'the interests of the community were sacrificed to the exaggerated well-being of the few'.⁸⁹² The intellectual foundations of this first Roman Catholic exercise in public theology owed a clear debt to the portrait of the 'Age of Faith' first popularised and justified by Gasquet. When Bourne wrote that 'Capitalism began really with the robbery of church property in the 16th century, which threw the economic and social advantage into the hands of the land-owning and trading classes', he might as well have quoted from Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, that 'the sacred heritage of the English poor was eaten up by the house of Tudor'.⁸⁹³ It was the rejection of the religious unity of Europe at the Reformation that had allowed selfishness to dominate the economic and political realities of England and Europe. Bourne argued that these could only be reconciled by a return to a pre-individualistic, pre-

⁸⁹² Bourne, The Nation's Crisis, 5-6:6.

⁸⁹³ Ibid. 19; Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, vol. 1, 493-494.

Reformation society. He also implied that the war had made everyone in England realise the need for an international moral arbiter in the person of the Pope. This would allow the 'the religious unity of Europe' to be rooted in his authority, and in turn would root both national and international society in peace.⁸⁹⁴

Conclusion

This chapter argues that the public recognition of the shared interests of the British government and the Holy See in World War One indicated that the dominance of an exclusivist anti-Catholic construction of English national identity was at an end. The establishment of a British Mission to the Holy See, and its retention at the end of the war, concluded a period of nearly four hundred years in which the British government had abominated formal communication with the Pope, and in which papal government had represented the most troubling aspect of Roman Catholic identity to the English nation. The recognition after 1914 that it could be beneficial, and largely non-controversial, for Britain and the papacy to acknowledge their shared interests in international security, indicated that an exclusivist anti-Catholicism no longer dominated English public discourse, or defined the boundaries of national identity. In England, Protestants manifested the novel desire for the papacy to act as an international moral force in the war, recalling without reviling the impression of the ethical consensus which Roman Catholic historical writers had claimed united medieval Europe. Even when the peace policy of Benedict disappointed the English, their

⁸⁹⁴ Bourne, The Nation's Crisis, 18.

desire that he should support the Entente's just war against the Central Powers indicated that they acknowledged the moral power of the Pope. This recognition of the papacy's just and judicial character was a clear sign that the old symbiotic relationship between Protestantism and English national identity had passed away.

In the aftermath of the war, Roman Catholics seemed to have become a secure part of the English national community, having proved their loyalty in a time of crisis and being willing to demonstrate an increased commitment to inter-denominational co-operation. The emphasis which The Nation's Crisis placed on the opportunities for Roman Catholics to serve their non-Catholic neighbours, by and through a distinctive Roman Catholic public theology, was an acknowledgement that Roman Catholic social teaching enjoyed great influence within a common public sphere. Bourne's initiatives in this area were motivated by the hope that the conclusions of *Rerum Novarum* could be of great benefit to the construction of a fairer society in England after the war, and in this he relied on a pluralistic understanding of English national identity. The Nation's Crisis also relied on the historical paradigm which had been pioneered and popularised by Gasquet. It authenticated its vision for England's future by reiterating that the Church had guaranteed the charitable civil order of the nation in the medieval period, and could do so again.

Eventually, Gasquet's influence and his clear advocacy for the historical integrity of the Roman Catholic Church precipitated an academic backlash against Roman Catholic historical writing concerning late medieval and

Reformation England. If Gasquet's urge to alter the position of the Roman Catholic Church in England had not led him to make unsupported assertions and manipulate evidence, then the historiography associated with A.G. Dickens (1910–2001) might not have become so influential between the 1940s and the late 1970s.⁸⁹⁵ However, the demolition of Gasquet's historical reputation by Coulton in the 1930s, and the historiographical tendency to minimise the vitality of the medieval Church which followed, did not reverse the cultural emancipation of English Roman Catholics which Gasquet's life and work had justified. Indeed, Coulton's personal anti-Catholicism was widely regarded as anachronistic, and he was viewed as an eccentric figure because of his attacks on Gasquet. His denunciations of a great Roman Catholic historical conspiracy, headed by Gasquet, would have gained much more traction in the exclusivist Protestant society of the 1860s than in the pluralistic twentieth-century, when they were largely ignored. Coulton was only able to undermine Gasquet's reputation among academics after decades of effort and by demonstrating that Gasquet had not used the apparatus of 'scientific' historical scholarship as he had claimed.

This thesis clearly demonstrates the importance of historical consciousness to the development of religious and national narratives, and it examines the intellectual mechanisms by which Roman Catholics became core constituents of the English public sphere in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century. It may act as a corrective to the increasingly contested and complicated narratives of secularisation theory which dominate

⁸⁹⁵ Haigh, 'A.G. Dickens and the English Reformation', *Historical Research* 77.195 (2004) 24–38; Heal, 'Dickens, Arthur (1910–2001)', *ODNB*.

contemporary religious historiography. The thesis first challenges some of the chronologies of secularisation which have been presented, and second argues that, far from manifesting a process of secularisation, the decline of Protestant national identity led to the pluralisation of English national and religious commitments. This more nuanced interpretation of the changes in English religious and national identity has parallels with McLeod's argument that, by the 1920s, 'Protestant Britain had become a more inclusive Christian Britain, which found a place for Catholics and those with no particular denominational identity' through the recognition of shared ethical and aesthetic principles.⁸⁹⁶ This thesis substantially refines the narrative recently presented by Richard Weight in *Patriots*, which portrays the late Victorian and Edwardian periods as monolithic expressions of Protestant imperial confidence, and locates the pluralisation of British national identity in the period following World War Two.⁸⁹⁷ Between 1869 and 1919 the ideological boundaries of English 'national identity' were expanded as Roman Catholicism laboured to gain for itself an acknowledged place in the Christian heritage of the nation. This prefigured the greater, supra-religious pluralisation of English national identity in the later twentieth century.

In its introduction, the thesis suggests a new chronology for the process of Roman Catholic emancipation, culminating in a phase of cultural

⁸⁹⁶ McLeod, 'Protestantism and British National Identity', 64. Wolffe supported McLeod's early chronology, but viewed Christian identity as a more durable category of communal allegiance, persisting to the present day. Wolffe, 'Protestantism, Monarchy and the Defence of Christian Britain'.

⁸⁹⁷ Richard Weight, *Patriots*, (Macmillan: 2002).

emancipation. It strives to represent more accurately the way Roman Catholics played an active and argumentative role in the process of their emancipation, rather than reducing Roman Catholic emancipation to a grant of specific legal rights. The introduction also justifies the methodology of the thesis, which combines some of the techniques associated with intellectual history with a broader focus on political, religious and cultural source material. In chapter I, the thesis argues that historical scholarship, directed against the dogmatic definition of papal infallibility in the immediate aftermath of the first Vatican Council, was legitimised among loyal Roman Catholics by Newman's fusion of history and theology in his Letter to the Duke of Norfolk. The subsequent case studies in this chapter attempt to give substance to the intellectual changes the thesis examines, using material and public performance evidence which is indicative of changes in the public perception of Roman Catholicism in England.

In chapter II, which relies on extensive archival research, the thesis examines the intellectual formation and content of Gasquet's historical writing. It shows that his work was historiographically innovative and, despite his deficiencies as a historian, that it was believed to represent the latest aspirations to 'scientific' history. The chapter also analyses how Gasquet's work was received by the general public, charting his growing authority over the way the English re-constructed their medieval past. In chapter III, the thesis explores how Gasquet's historical reputation and archival research underpinned the papal condemnation of Anglican orders. It examines the official texts connected with inter-religious conflicts between Roman Catholics and Anglicans, and argues that this controversy

was sustained by divergent and incompatible historical paradigms. In addition to bringing a new significance to some texts which have been explored before in secondary studies, the chapter offers a thorough analysis of some neglected texts which serve to emphasise how important historical consciousness was becoming to religious identity in the 1890s. Chapter IV of this thesis, informed by archival research in London and Rome, presents the first close study of the British Mission to the Holy See in World War One. Through an examination of the Mission's activities, it integrates intellectual and diplomatic history, to show the way the change in the cultural position of English Roman Catholics and the pluralisation of English national identity affected Britain's foreign policy objectives. This thesis contains significant conclusions which will contribute to understandings of the history of religion, English national identity and Anglo –Vatican diplomatic relations. It also suggests a new approach to the study of historiography as part of intellectual, cultural and religious discourse.

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